

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

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MEETINGS

The Ninth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference will be held at Lexington, April 26-28, 1956. The theme will be "Foreign Languages and World Leadership." Featured will be an International Relations Session on "Some African Problems," discussed by representatives of countries concerned.

Miss Evelyn Lee Way, Chairman of the Classical Section of the Mississippi Education Association, has sent word of the meeting of the Classical Section on Friday, March 16, at the Robert E. Lee Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi. Dr. Waldo Sweet is to be the featured speaker.

CAMWS

52nd annual meeting, April 5-7
Lexington, Kentucky

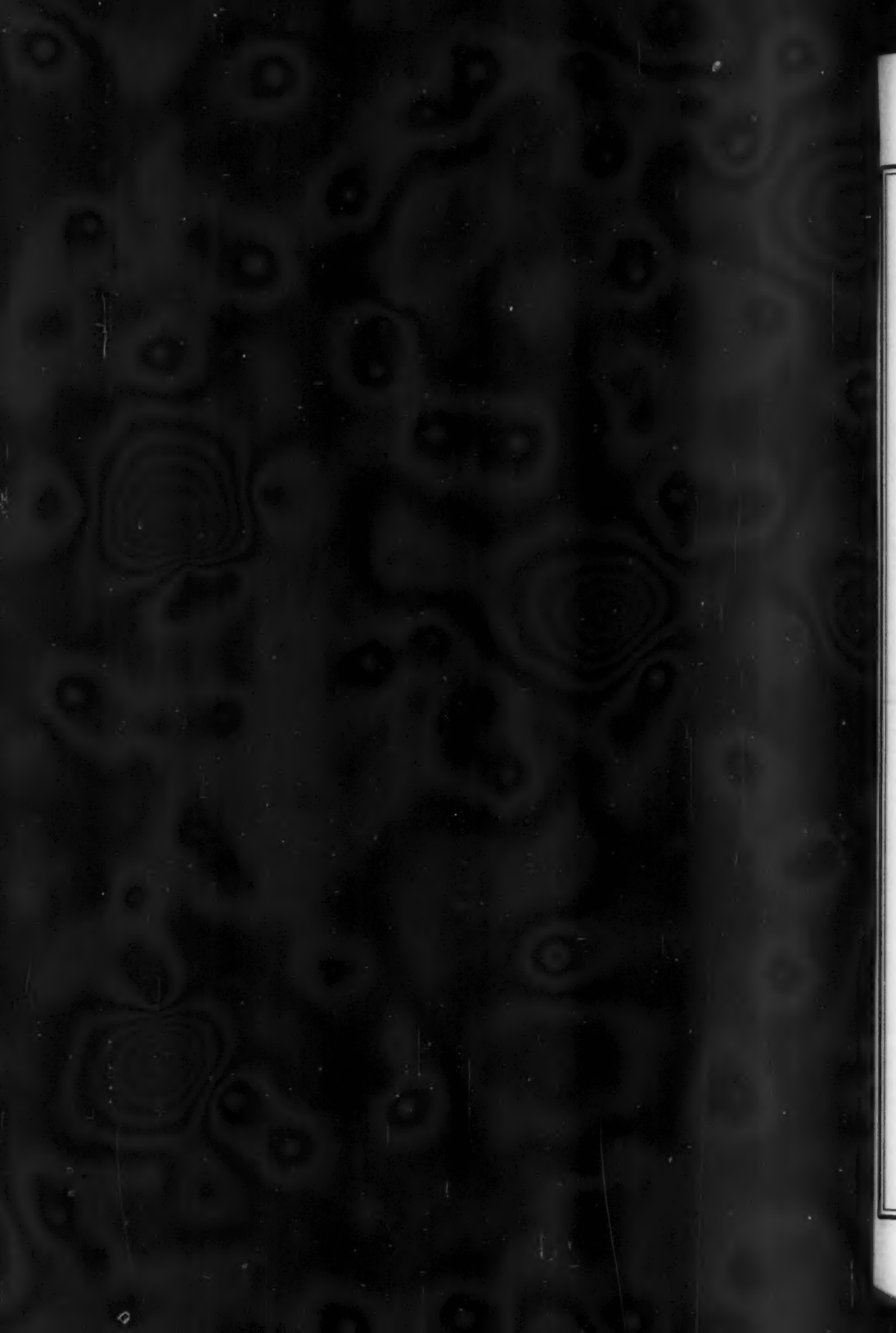
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THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

METHODS OF TEACHING LATIN TRANSLATION

The problem of how to teach Latin translation is a common one; like the poor, it is always with us. Some fifty members of the Minnesota Classical Conference, St. Olaf's College, Northfield, last fall chose to participate in this swap-shop discussion, directed by Mrs. Margaret Forbes, University of Minnesota. As reported by Fr. Fridolin Mischke, O.S.C., some very interesting and helpful ideas were offered. There were some who preferred to have the Latin read over several times and then, without an attempt at an English translation, to ask questions about the passage to see whether the students have understood it.

But most of the discussion centered about the problem of getting a translation. Some preferred a good English version without much reference to the Latin construction or word order. But generally it was believed better that the students be expected to keep to the Latin word order in translation as long as correct English will allow. This, it was thought, would encourage speed in translating, a necessary element if translation is ever to become interesting. Let the student know that translation is a real art. Therefore, he ought not to be discouraged if he does not always find the right way of expressing it in English. Be satisfied if he can show clearly that he understands the Latin.

It was again reemphasized that reading the Latin passage before attempting a translation is most important. After two slow readings, a third with pauses to look up vocabulary and forms, there should be a fourth swift reading before attempting to translate. This shows the importance of being able to read well before translation will come with any kind of ease. The Latin sounds and corresponding connotations must be emphasized in Latin I. A facility in reading without stumbling over syllables must first be attained, if Latin students are to develop any ability in translating.

Another method suggested was this: Diagram the Latin sentences either on the

board or with a duplicator. Have the students work from that. No doubt this is a great help, especially for beginners in translating. Yet it does not seem that a student who is given a steady diet of Latin already partly digested would tend to grow much in his ability to translate. It may be good as a starting point, but a student must learn to do this diagramming himself in his own mind if he is ever to learn to read Latin and understand what he reads. The problem: How to Teach Translation in Latin II, remains. But such discussion among teachers is certainly fruitful in providing mutual encouragement and an exchange of helpful hints born of experience.

A BOOK FAIR

In addition to selling JCL plastic book covers, an idea that originated at the National JCL convention for raising money for the club was this: Get a donation of worthwhile books (used) and resell, at clear profit, these books of poetry, story, and others. There need not be connection with Latin — just good books in any field.

PEN PALS

The Latin II students of Tom Byrne, Owatonna, Minnesota, are corresponding with the Latin II class of Dick Scanlon of Edina, "In Latin, of course." Have you tried this?

LATIN GAINS IN MINNESOTA

The status of Latin in Minnesota schools, as reported at the fall meeting of the MCC and in the December number of the Minnesota Latin Newsletter, shows a sizeable increase in registration this year. In most of the schools reporting, the percentage of gain in Latin enrollment for 1955 was considerably higher than the gain in total enrollment for the school. Twenty of those schools reporting showed sensational gains of from 18% to 200%. Moreover, several schools have added Latin classes this year, which, in some cases, has meant an all-Latin program for the present teacher, or else additional teachers for the current part-time Latin scheduling. Several pri-

vate and parochial schools have one full-time Latin teacher plus two or more teachers with Latin combinations. Combinations, as reported, show Latin teachers in the public schools most frequently teaching English also; in the parochial schools, Religion. For the Latin teachers reporting, English was taught 22 times, Religion 9 times, Spanish 6 times, German 4 times, French 3, World History 5, American History 3, World Affairs, 1; Algebra was taught 5 times; Physiology, Chemistry, Business Arithmetic and Bookkeeping once each; 3 Library-Latin combinations; for several, Latin was the teacher's only subject, combined with administrative duties; one listing for Latin with Speech and Debate; and one formal listing of Guidance with Latin.

Latin teachers have always been strong promoters of Modern Languages in addition to their own, and many are teaching both. The general picture indicates an increase in the Modern Language enrollments, too. The observation has been made that as this upward trend in all language study reflects the growing interest of both parents and administrators, the teachers feel a challenge to do better teaching every day of the year.

Especially notable was the splendid co-operation and response of all to whom this language survey was addressed and the scientific handling of the returns so as to make the statistics of the greatest value. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that only statistics have real weight today with the powers that be, and many of us can profit materially by the inventories taken and evaluated by Minnesota.

VERGILIAN DIGEST

Have you seen the first issue of the *Vergilian Digest*, published last fall by the Vergilian Society of America? It contains

a splendid "Practical Bibliography for Teaching the *Aeneid*." Information and copies can be secured from Prof. Charles T. Murphy, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Membership in the U.S.A. is only one dollar a year.

KLAMATH FALLS LATIN CLUB SPONSORS ITALIAN ORPHAN

Helen Epley Hoffman, Klamath Union High School, Klamath Falls, Oregon, has a Latin Club of one hundred and sixty members, not including any first year students. Klamath Union Latin Club has done many fine things for the community and the school, and is now in the second year of a four-year project. The Club has adopted (\$120.00) an orphan boy in Naples and expects to keep him in school through the eighth grade. Nello Panelli, born April 21, 1943, was adopted when he was twelve years old and in the fourth grade. In order that the citizens of Klamath Falls might share in the enterprise, a splendid two-column article was prepared for the *News Nugget* by Jan Murphy, Joyce Howard, and Brent Caldwell. Nello Panelli's picture appeared, together with the boy's history and that of the Casa Materna Orphanage, Naples, which is his home. Funds were raised through a rummage sale in the Pelican Theater building in October, netting over \$400.00. Congratulations, Helen Hoffman and KU Latin Club members! As stated in the letter of gratitude to you, "You have given the boy life and hope and the opportunity to prepare himself to be a good citizen of the oncoming generation — the generation with which our own children must live and work and build the happiness of this small world." Your activities are a true inspiration to the rest of us.

G. L. B.

CATULLUS: *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus*

Faring, care-worn, over so many oceans,
So many lands of strangers, as I must,
Being our father's son, I make bestowal,
Speak here with vacant purpose to mute dust.
Taken from me by luck's peremptory malice,
Take, brother, what I bring you with my tears.
I lift my hand to you, as once in greeting,
And let it fall. Farewe'l, for all the years!

ROLFE HUMPHRIES and Classics 106

Yale University

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 51 Number 7

APRIL 1956

Latin in the Public Secondary Schools

(continued from page 273)

II. THE TEACHERS

THE FOLLOWING observations are based on sampling done in only two areas, the East and the Mid-West, and therefore, as regards the national picture, are to be considered merely as suggestive. Whatever percentages and other statistical data are cited are quite tentative and rough as far as a national application is concerned. Since the several hundred respondents were clearly much better than average in training, ability, etc., as might be expected, they are not an entirely representative group, but present, rather, a favorable picture. Consequently, when even this group shows certain lacks or deficiencies, one can be fairly certain that such lacks, usually in greater degree, are characteristic of the national majority. With respect to the strengths of such a select group the converse is not necessarily true.

Educational Background

More than 90 percent of the teachers had a B.A. or its equivalent, and almost half of them held the M.A. or equivalent; a very small number held the Ph.D. Only about 55-60 percent had majored in Classics or Latin or Latin and some other subject, as undergraduates; the rest had majored in other subjects (but extremely few in Education), and some of these had a minor in Latin. Less than half of the M.A.'s had been taken in Classics or Latin; the rest were in various fields, with Education, Guidance, and Administra-

tion the most popular choices. A small number had not majored or minored in Classics or Latin on either the undergraduate or graduate level. It is quite probable that the general educational background of the nation's public school Latin teachers is relatively good but that there is need for greater numbers of those who have majored in Classics or Latin on either one of the two levels. It is particularly distressing that so many are attracted away from their field which is that of a basic intellectual skill to do graduate work in a peripheral area of applied, "practical" skills; and yet, this attraction is understandable, for, in the public school system as it is constituted at present, the larger salaries and greater professional prestige and more opportunities for advancement most often depend upon certification of training in matters that are rather remotely connected, if connected at all, with the intellect and knowledge and wisdom and learning.

About 85 percent of the teachers had received their B.A. training at independent private liberal arts colleges or church-supported colleges or state universities (liberal arts divisions), and well over half of this percentage was from the first two categories. Undoubtedly, if a national canvass were made, it would be found that the teachers colleges trained more than 15 percent in the subject-matter field, but the committee does not believe that the

percentage would be more than 35. It is evident that the majority of new young teachers will have to come from the liberal arts institutions. Accordingly, efforts at recruitment should be concentrated on this area without, of course, slighting the other.

Approximately 65 percent of the teachers had had four years of Latin in secondary school; more than 80 percent had had at least three years. There can be no question that the linguistic competency of the Latin teacher, like that of other language teachers, depends, not entirely, but in considerable measure upon the number of years of training at the pre-college level and upon the continuous nature of that training, with no break (preferably) between school and college. If such a pattern be regarded as requisite, the future recruitment of qualified teachers becomes exceedingly difficult, since, as has been demonstrated previously, current statistics show that very few public high school students have the opportunity to study Latin for more than two years (generally in the 9th and 10th grades).

Very many of the respondent teachers had had good to excellent training in English and in a modern foreign language and literature (quite often in two modern foreign languages). Obviously such training should be encouraged for future teachers. It is also the committee's opinion, on the basis of the data gathered, admittedly only a sample, that new recruits would be benefited, at various stages of development, by:

(1) More familiarity with the Greek language and literature (and Roman literature too, both of them especially *qua* literature).

(2) More intensive training in classical history and culture, with greater emphasis upon history of ideas.

(3) More knowledge of audio-visual techniques and materials as integral to teaching, not entertainment.

(4) More drill in the use of oral Latin.

(5) More opportunity for summer travel and study in Italy and Greece. The program of summer Fulbright grants should be extended. Means of cheap travel to and in Europe (freighters, youth hostels, good cheap hotels abroad) should be formally publicized.

(6) More familiarity with linguistics, especially descriptive linguistics, including a grounding in the analysis of modern English structure. Apropos of this it might be noted that, at an invitational conference held in connection with the Modern Language Association meeting in December, 1955, the recommendation was made that all teachers concerned with languages or the language arts should take a one-year course in the structure of language centered on English.

All the teachers had had training in Education, many of them much more than the minimum required. It is reasonably assumed that the vast majority of Latin teachers throughout the nation have the requisite number of Education credits—perforce! There was strong agreement among the respondents that, by and large, the Education courses which they had taken had been a waste of time but that practice teaching had been very valuable. The belief was common that much of the material of the numerous Education courses could have been put into one, or at most two, semester courses. The committee cannot doubt that these views are more or less representative of the majority of the nation's Latin teachers (if not the majority of the nation's school teachers). It is quite plain that, in the Latin teacher's training-program, Education courses need to be reduced in number and enriched in content.

Age Distribution

The quality of instruction in Latin is high nationwide partly because the majority of Latin teachers have many years of experience to their credit. It is estimated that the national average

is between 18 and 22 years of experience, but this is not an unmixed blessing, for there are too many teachers in the higher age brackets and too few young ones. The following table, which gives the picture as of 1954-55 for the entire Latin teaching staff of a state, roughly illustrates the situation:

| Decade | Number of Teachers | Percent |
|--------|--------------------|---------|
| 20-29 | 41 | 14.2 |
| 30-39 | 43 | 14.8 |
| 40-49 | 89 | 30.7 |
| 50-59 | 94 | 32.5 |
| 60-69+ | 22 | 7.6 |

Over the course of 15 years and beginning immediately, probably more than 100 Latin teachers in this state will have to be replaced or Latin will have to be dropped or curtailed in a large number of schools. Such need of replacement is estimated simply on the basis of coming retirements and does not take into consideration withdrawals from the teaching profession for various reasons (e.g. marriage, death, financial betterment in different occupation), shifts to other academic subjects, or increased enrollments. Data available from some other states are pretty much in line with the sample state. It is the committee's conservative guess that, if all factors be considered and if the study of Latin is not to suffer, adequate staffing on the national scale during the next 15 or so years will necessitate the recruitment of enough Latin teachers to replace well over 40 percent of the present staff.

Teaching Load and Teaching Program

The school day for the teacher normally includes 5 class periods of from 40 to 60 minutes. The shorter periods prevail in the smaller schools, where 6 class periods daily are not uncommon. In addition to academic subject or subjects, every teacher has as part of the total load some of the following activities ("busy" work): study-hall supervision, advisory duties (counselling, etc.), coaching (drama, debating, etc.), supervision of students' activities

(newspaper, yearbook, clubs), home-room supervision, chairmanship duties, hall duty, cafeteria duty, locker-room supervision, directorship of assemblies, teaching of special classes and review classes, etc.

In the small schools Latin is hardly ever a full-time assignment—competence in one or more other subjects or activities, e.g. guidance, administration, is required of the teachers. In the large schools there are more teachers with full Latin programs but even there the number is not very many. The committee found that, of 600 Latin teachers from various parts of the country, from both urban and rural areas, only 20 percent taught full programs of Latin. The rest taught it in combination with some other subject or subjects or duties. The most frequent combination, more than 4 times as frequent as any other combination, was Latin-English. The following table shows how often Latin was combined by 575 randomly selected teachers with certain other subjects or duties, but it does not indicate the triple and larger combinations—this accounts for a total number greater than the actual number of teachers, e.g. a Latin-English-Math combination counts both as Latin-English and Latin-Math:

| Subject (Duty) | Times combined with Latin |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. English | 355 |
| 2. Spanish | 79 |
| 3. Soc. Sciences | 79 |
| 4. Library | 78 |
| 5. Mathematics | 46 |
| 6. French | 39 |
| 7. Science | 25 |
| 8. German | 20 |
| 9. Administration | 16 |
| 10. Speech | 14 |
| 11. Guidance | 12 |

The committee believes that this table roughly reflects the situation in the country as a whole, certainly as far as the popularity of the Latin-English combination is concerned; no judgment can be given on the actual order of numbers 2-11, but probably most of them (except for German) would ap-

pear in a national list of high-frequency combinations coming after Latin-English.

Combination-teaching would appear to be the normal pattern in the public schools. Very probably not more than 50-55 percent of those who teach combinations teach Latin as their major subject. The others, though they may be strong advocates of Latin, will read fewer classical journals, attend fewer classical meetings, and in general will be less likely to keep up with the field. All public school teachers have far too much clerical, administrative, and service duty piled on top of their teaching loads to leave them much leisure or energy for private reading and self-improvement. Furthermore, the teacher of more than one subject cannot afford the journals and the trips to meetings to keep up a double or multiple field. Subsidized "refresher" workshops spe-

cifically designed for such teachers is one obvious way of dealing with this problem. The source of subsidy is another problem.

For the recruiting and training of new Latin teachers, strong, solid combination-programs (preferably double-major programs) are needed on the college level. Also sound means of advising prospective recruits on a choice of appropriate combination-programs are needed—appropriate to the individual's capacities and interests and appropriate for the needs of the school system of the state and region.

(To be continued)

S. D. ATKINS

Princeton University

J. L. HELLER

University of Illinois

P. L. MACKENDRICK

University of Wisconsin

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUMMER STUDY

Several Universities of the Middle West have notified *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* of Summer School workshops and course offerings designed for high school Latin teachers. The importance of these sessions in the face of the current shortage of Latin teachers is emphasized in a communication from President Else:

"Everyone agrees that we are faced with a critical shortage of Latin teachers for our high schools. This shortage may damage the position of Latin very seriously unless we take energetic steps to meet it; and that means that we must draw on every possible source. One promising source, but hard to tap, is those who have taught some Latin in the past but have dropped out of the profession, or who have had some training in Latin, such as a Latin minor, but are now teaching other subjects. Probably many readers of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* know of such potential Latin teachers — even though the candidates themselves may not be thinking of such a thing."

Elsewhere in this number are advertise-

ments for the summer offerings of De Paul University (Chicago) and the University of Wisconsin. Both institutions have had long and successful experience in teacher training.

Professor Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, announces the Third Indiana Latin Workshop (June 16 to July 7), which may be taken for three graduate credits or audited, and may be combined with other courses in the regular eight-weeks session for a full summer schedule. For details apply to Professor Pratt.

President Else sends word of a six-weeks course to be given this summer at the University of Michigan, "specially designed for those who have not recently taught Latin." The number is Latin 130, the instructor, Miss Edith M. A. Kovach.

If you know of persons who might teach Latin but are "rusty" or diffident about their command of Latin or of up-to-date teaching methods, please call their attention to these opportunities for summer study.

The Adventures of Odysseus

THE ADVENTURES OF ODYSSEUS have been discussed in so many different ways that it seems useful to begin with a brief statement of the particular problem which I should like to consider in this paper. The remarks which I am going to offer are concerned with the significance of Odysseus' Adventures within the poem as a whole, or, to say it differently, with the meaning and the function of the Adventures within the poem of the Return of Odysseus that is the *Odyssey*. I am assuming that the *Odyssey* is the work of one poet, a work superbly planned and magnificently executed. My remarks, however, are less intended as a demonstration of the unity of the poem than as a contribution to its interpretation as a work of poetry.

The account of Odysseus' Adventures has a very special position within the *Odyssey* as a whole. It is remarkably distinguished from the rest of the poem, formally as well as by the nature of its content. Within the structure of the *Odyssey* the Adventures are set off by Homer's use of the "box composition" (or what is nowadays called "flashback technique").¹ Within the story of the work the fabulous character of the Adventures presents a striking contrast to the "realism" of the Ithaca books. The artful and intricate composition which is one of the outstanding technical features of the *Odyssey* has often been admired by critics and imitated by poets. The ingenious combination, or alternation, of fanciful and realistic elements contributes greatly to the charm of the work. Yet it seems without doubt that this twofold distinction between the Adventures and the rest of the story is intended, and meaningfully intended, by the poet. And it seems equally

necessary to assume that there is a close connection between the particular character of the Adventures and the particular manner of their representation.

Within the poem of the Return of Odysseus the Adventures give the answer to the question: Why has Odysseus not come home in the ten years that have elapsed since the end of the War? Where can he be? What keeps him from coming home? These questions are, indeed, the fundamental theme of the so-called Telemachy. That Homer has the *Odyssey* begin in Ithaca and not, say, with Odysseus' leaving Troy (as he would have obviously been free to do) is not only artistically subtle or compositionally admirable, but it shows the profound manner in which he conceived his subject. For Return and Home are correlatives; the idea of a Return not only implies, but presupposes the idea of Home. And we must be sure that there is still a home, after so many years, a home that needs him who is absent and waits for him, if the return is to be truly a return. Do we not know, Homer says right at the beginning of the poem (with one of his favorite poetic devices in the *Odyssey*, the contrasting mirroring of motifs), do we not know the tragic story of Agamemnon who had lost his home?² But Ithaca is lost without Odysseus. If Penelope's undying love and faith and hope are to be requited, if the wrong that the suitors are doing is to be righted, Odysseus must return. Even the young Telemachus who has never known his father grows suddenly up to an awareness of the necessity of his return; the decisive event that changes him from a helpless boy into an active young man is one of those strange encounters which seem like chance and yet are the working of divine providence.³ Everything converges to the question: If Odysseus

¹ This paper was read at the Cleveland meeting of the American Philological Association in December 1952.

is not dead, what keeps him from coming home?

This, then, is the first reason why Homer has inserted the Adventures into his account of the action in Ithaca, why he has inverted the "historical" order of events both in time and place. Homer takes his viewpoint in Ithaca, he considers Odysseus' return from the viewpoint of the hope for it at home, a hope desperate and unreasonable and against all expectations which the love of Penelope has kept alive and which is all the more urgent as the insolence and iniquity of the suitors threaten her and the whole house. (Indeed, the longing for Odysseus, and Odysseus' longing for home, both in the face of numerous obstacles and dangers, form two complementary themes which are, most artfully and in many different manners, continued throughout the whole poem—till the moment when, after many trials, Odysseus and Penelope are finally reunited.)

To the question: Where has Odysseus been all these years? Homer now gives a strange answer. He puts Odysseus into fairyland (as it has been called). Literally, or historically, speaking, he never tells us where Odysseus actually was. For neither Ogygia, nor the Aeolian Island, nor Ae(ae)a, nor any of the other places are meant to exist—in the sense in which Ithaca or Troy exists. Homer does not mean to present geographical puzzles; but he does not weave charming, but incredible "sailors' yarns" either. He is neither a historian nor a liar. In the Adventures he opposes to the "factual" world, the world of Ithaca, and Pylos, and Sparta, another one, a world of the poetic imagination. That he does so consciously and purposefully he tells us himself, again by the use of the "musical" principle of composition to which I have already referred.⁴ We remember the account of the *nostoi* of the heroes which, in the third book, Nestor gives to Telemachus.⁵ This is a "literal", or "factual", or "histor-

ical" account. The contrast is significant. If Homer chose to give of the *nostoi* of Odysseus a different account, a poetic one, it must be because the truth he had to tell could not be told in any other way.

But the Adventures are divided into two distinctly different parts. The last two stages, Calypso and the Phaeacians (books V-VIII), are reported first, and by the poet himself. In the following books (IX-XII), however, Homer has Odysseus relate his previous experiences to the Phaeacians in the first person. But an account in the first person is an account from memory; Odysseus speaks from memory. Homer thus represents the Adventures on two different planes. He not only opposes a poetic world to the historical world of Ithaca; within the world of the poetic imagination he distinguishes the world of memory. This distinction of levels of reality, it seems to me, is the true reason for Homer's use of a principle of perspective in the composition of the *Odyssey* (rather than a mere perspectivism in time).

The two adventures which the poet relates in his own person, Calypso and the Phaeacians, have in common that they show Odysseus held or tempted by beings of a superhuman order. Odysseus' intense desire to return, mentioned by Homer repeatedly at the very beginning of the poem (while Odysseus is at Calypso's, that is: "hidden"),⁶ is stressed throughout these episodes. But the poet contrasts Odysseus' longing for home with the beauty (beauty in the most inclusive sense) of the environment in which his hero finds himself. This beauty is not different in degree from Ithaca, it is different in kind, it is the beauty of a superhuman, an ideal world. And the temptation is not of things that are better elsewhere than at home, but of things different from anything in the world we know. For Calypso who hides Odysseus for seven years is not another woman, more loveable than Penelope, she is a goddess;

and what she promises Odysseus, if he will stay with her, is not a more desirable human existence than he could find at home, but immortality.⁷ And as Calypso is a goddess, so are the Phaeacians not men as we. Ruled by Alcinoo and Arete, they represent an ideal society, whose order and harmony is most strikingly contrasted with the trouble and the chaos in Ithaca to which Odysseus will return. And he will be a beggar in his own land while the Phaeacians honor him like a god.⁸ But Odysseus twice rejects the bliss of a superhuman existence for the sake of home; i.e. for the roots and ties of a human existence; this act of rejection is made in full awareness of the difference not only, but also of the cost; he rejects the bliss of a superhuman existence because he wants to remain a man. In these two Adventures which, although the last in the order of time, are the first in the order of narration, we have thus a tremendous widening and deepening of the idea of the Return—a philosophical deepening which indeed far transcends the factuality of historical events.

Odysseus' previous Adventures now are not narrated as they happened, but as Odysseus remembers them. That what he remembers is true, fantastic as it may seem, Homer emphasizes both implicitly and explicitly. He has Alcinoo praise Odysseus for "not being a cheat and a dissembler" that "fashions lies out of what no man can even see".⁹ And he contrasts the unbelievable truth of the *apologoi* with the believable lies that Odysseus will tell later in Ithaca.¹⁰ These lies, of course, serve in each case a definite purpose. Yet it is to be noted that Odysseus will never repeat in Ithaca the account of his experiences which the Phaeacians understand—except only once and to one person: when, after the final reunion, he tells the whole truth to Penelope who then understands it too.¹¹

The general theme of Odysseus' memories is the *nostos polykedes*¹²

which Zeus has laid upon him. His tale is of the sufferings he had to undergo on his return—and for the sake of it; of the dangers he had to pass on his return—and that imperiled it; of the obstacles that were put in the way of his return. But what are these obstacles that kept him from coming home? We call them Adventures. They are profoundly meaningful encounters with the wonders of the world, with the great and mysterious facts and events and powers that rule and surround our life, with the limits of human existence. Each significant in its own way, they cover all together a relevant variety of essential experiences. In the Cyclopes Odysseus meets men who know neither arts and skills nor laws and social order and who, in the darkness of their savage ignorance, even despise the gods; uncivilized brutish men whose state is as far below ours as that of the Phaeacians is above it. In the story of the Laestrygonians he reaches, if this be the right interpretation, the end of the earth (again an extreme, but in another sense). Powers of nature are friendly in Aeolus, and cruel in Scylla. But the help of Aeolus is brought to nought, not only by the greedy jealousy of the men, but also by the limit of Odysseus' endurance—or was it thoughtlessness, or a lagging in spirit? "We were lost through our own folly," he says.¹³ And when Odysseus stands, his two spears in his hands, on the foredeck of his ship, ready to attack Scylla, who then snatches his men from behind him, we see the heroic and futile gesture of a man, faced with powers that are greater than he. Love is the theme of Circe that changes men into animals—and whom Odysseus, not without the help of the gods, conquers, in order to be conquered by her; it is here that he forgets the home, and after he has stayed a whole year with the *doloessa* Circe, his men to whom he once embodied Ithaca have to remind him of the return.¹⁴ And the theme of the Sirens is knowledge, knowledge of all

things, a bewitching promise that no man can resist, but whose fulfillment brings death, as it is more than a man can bear.

Let these examples suffice. For we must ask a further question: What is it that causes Odysseus to get involved in these experiences which endanger his return? The fact is that he seeks them himself. That the Wrath of Poseidon is only in a very limited sense the cause of his late return has often been observed. The Wrath of Poseidon means in Homeric language nothing but a hostile sea. And the hostile sea carries Odysseus to strange shores. But to the shores only. Yet Odysseus, once arrived at a place, time and again goes out, or sends some of his companions, to investigate "who the men are that here eat bread upon the earth".¹⁵ What leads to his experiences is his own curiosity, his own will. This is most strikingly shown in the Adventure of the Cyclopes: the Goat Island offers Odysseus and his men everything they need, and there is no reason for crossing the channel over to the mainland were it not to satisfy Odysseus' curiosity.¹⁶ That no previous horror or defeat can deter him from seeking new experiences is stressed in the Circe Adventure: when his men weep remembering the savagery of the Cyclopes and the Laestrygonians, but he insists on the exploration of the island.¹⁷ And in a different way, yet similarly, Odysseus' quest for experience is emphasized in the episodes that follow the descent into Hades: Circe, instructing him about the Sirenes, tells him how to proceed "if you have the will to listen"—but that he does listen is his own free decision.¹⁸ And he prepares to attack Scylla against Circe's advice.¹⁹

The *apologoi* present the idea of the Return, deepened again, on a new level. What Odysseus remembers are not accidental historical facts, but essential

experiences. What kept him from coming home was a great and cruel destiny laid upon him by the gods, but at the same time a necessity of his own nature: his curiosity to see the wonders of the world, man's deep-rooted thirst for knowledge. In the *apologoi* he describes the conflict between what Dante called *l'ardore ch'i' ebbero a divenir del mondo esperto*²⁰ and the longing for home. That he himself describes it shows his profound awareness of it. Indeed, he has learned from Tiresias—and this is the very first thing he will tell Penelope in the long night²¹—that the *meliedes nostos*²² for which both he and Penelope have longed so much will not bring the end of their trials, that the reunion forever of which they dreamed can only be short; that he will have to go on another voyage, one that again will be "long and hard and measurelessly toilsome"²³—to continue his quest for knowledge.

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NOTES

¹ All the Adventures (books V-XII) are "boxed" into the account of the events at home. "Flash-back" is used in books IX - XII.

² Already implied in I.28 ff.

³ The visit of Athena-Mentes, I.103-324.

⁴ v. *supra*.

⁵ III. 130-201, 254-311.

⁶ I.13 ff., 48-59.

⁷ V.135 ff., 206-210.

⁸ V.35 f. = XIX. 279f. (see also VII.199 ff.).

⁹ XI.363 ff.

¹⁰ XIII.256-286; XIV.201-359; XVI.226-239; XVII. 415-445; XIX.164-202, 262-307.

¹¹ XXIII.310-343.

¹² IX.37 f.

¹³ X.27.

¹⁴ X.414-420, 469-474.

¹⁵ E.g., IX.88 f. = X.101 f.

¹⁶ IX.116 ff., esp. 161-178.

¹⁷ X.185 - 205 etc.

¹⁸ XII.49, 160.

¹⁹ XII.116-126, 225-233.

²⁰ "the ardor which I had to gain experience of the world," *Inferno* XXVI.97 f.

²¹ XI.121-137 = XXIII. 268-284.

²² XI.100.

²³ XXIII.249 f.

Roman Germany — Three Sites¹

IT HAS LONG BEEN the unfortunate case that, when one speaks of the Roman Empire and Roman expansion, Germany is all too often treated with considerable disregard. True, mention is made of the ultimate failure of the attempt to include the lands east of the Rhine within the empire, and of the far-reaching consequences for the history of later Europe which this failure is felt to have produced. Save for the area in the west and south which was included within the *limes*, Roman penetration into Germany really ceased with the death of Augustus, who, at the end of his long reign, advised that the Rhine be the permanent frontier between Gaul and Germany.

Yet, the student of Roman antiquity and history cheats himself if he ignores Roman Germany entirely. The remains which the archaeologists have uncovered have increased considerably in number since the end of the Second World War, when the bombings of German cities brought to light things which had not been seen before, such as part of the city-wall of Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne). However, it is my purpose to describe briefly three of the sites for which we do not have to thank the war, two of which are of outstanding importance for knowledge of Roman civilization, while the third, wholly modern as one sees it, has sympathetic interest for the visitor. For, as Miss Lawler has pointed out in an entertaining article on Roman Britain (*CJ*, 50 [1954-55] 57), much about Rome can best be learned outside of Italy.

Let us look at our sites in chronological order, an order which will also lead us from north to south. First, then, we shall consider the area of the Teutoburg Forest.

In the early years of the first Christian century, after the bitter struggles of the elder Drusus and Tiberius in the preceding two decades had subdued but not crushed the Germans, the Ro-

man goal was to extend their sway east to the Elbe. In the year 9 A.D. the general Varus was ambushed by one of the chieftains of the Cherusci, Arminius, and his three legions were almost totally destroyed by the Germans. The defeat was overwhelming, probably even more so than the great republican disasters of the Caudine Forks and Cannae, for it not only stymied the Romans for a while, but forced a complete change in Roman policy. The legions lost (XVII-XIX) were never replaced, and their loss weighed so heavily upon Augustus² that he determined that the natural boundary of the Rhine should be accepted. Tacitus describes vividly the feelings of Germanicus and his troops when they reached the site of the massacre a few years later,³ and, in one of his typically epigrammatic eulogies, gives the German his due.⁴ Although his leadership had been more successful against the enemy than that of any of his people, he was not even able to assert authority over all of his tribesmen, and, a number of years later, he was killed in internecine strife.

About one hundred years ago the endeavor began to erect a monument to the memory of Arminius (Hermann in German) on the approximate spot of the battle (it has not yet been determined to the satisfaction of all historians where the actual slaughter took place).⁵ The place chosen is atop a rather steep hill some four miles removed from Detmold, a small town about thirty miles north of Paderborn. Here one is presented with a superb view, overlooking the thick forest, and it then becomes all too clear how Varus could have been waylaid on these slopes while unable to maneuver with ease. On a clear day it is easily possible to look over the countryside for a distance of more than ten miles from the top of the monument.

The approach to the *Hermannsdenkmal* (the work of the sculptor Ernst

von Bandel, which was dedicated by Kaiser Wilhelm I on August 16, 1875), once the top of the hill has been negotiated, is by a gently sloping path which brings the visitor to the rear



MONUMENT TO ARMINIUS

of the statue. It is a most imposing figure, some 170 feet tall including the base, with helmet surmounted by wings and right arm held aloft grasping a sword. On the blade of the sword is the inscription *Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke, meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht* — German unity is my strength, my strength is Germany's might. Little could Arminius have realized that the unity which he craved was not to be attained for more than 1800 years.

Before the statue has been constructed a porch with a hemicycle, at the two ends of which were placed representations of trophies, with

weapons and armor hanging in confused disarray.

The military question brings us to our next site. When it had been decided that the best offense in this particular case was a stout defense, the establishment of an effectively-protected border was gradually undertaken, and reached its culmination under Domitian, when the well-known Rhine-Danube *limes* was established. Contrary to what is commonly considered to be the case, the main *desideratum* was not a fortified wall, but a road — a road along which troops could move expeditiously to any threatened spot. Often the *limes* consisted of nothing more than a ditch or a fence; they were not intended to keep large bodies of wanderers out of Roman territory. Rather, it was the intent of the Romans to drive such people back before they were able to penetrate deeply.

With the establishment of a permanent frontier must come the establishment of a border patrol, responsible for a certain area and with a permanent base of operations, what is today called a *kaserne*. One such camp was built north of Frankfurt-am-Main, at the Saalburg, near the town of Bad Homburg.⁶ Needless to say, the camp which we can see is not representative of the first structure built, for it was rebuilt and expanded several times during the almost two hundred years from Domitian's time till shortly after the middle of the third century, when the *limes* was abandoned and the Germans re-occupied the land east of the Rhine. Moreover, the Saalburg at present can only suggest what the camp must have looked like, for there are wide open areas which, of course, were occupied by buildings. For all this, it certainly gives an excellent idea of Roman military construction.

The camp, about 725 feet by 500, is surrounded by a double ditch; within the walls is a ramp of earth, which enabled the inhabitants to fight at the ramparts. Immediately on the right

as one passes through the *porta prae-toria* is the old granary, the *horreum*. This building now serves as a museum, to house the items found here, discovered, to a great extent, in the rubbish which was used to close up most of the ninety-nine wells after they had ceased to function. The collection is one of the finest in Germany, composed mainly of weapons and items of everyday use, such as tools.

In the relative center of the camp, bestriding the *via principalis* which connected the two side-gates, is the *praetorium*, the headquarters of the commander. To the rear of the headquarters building is a colonnade-enclosed open court; the side parallel to the *praetorium* housed the *sacellum*, the chapel in which the standards and the cult images were kept.

Each of the four entrances is protected by two towers of moderate height. A number of ovens are found along the east and west walls, and, in the northeast corner, are the remains of a bath.

Between the *horreum* and the wall, in the southeast corner, are two barracks. These buildings are not built on the traces of ancient ones, and thus are the only structures in the camp which are not based on the original remains. More of these barracks must have occupied the spaces which are today bare, as well as stables and a hospital.

On the visitor's left as he approaches the main gate are to be found remains of a bath and another building which has been identified as a villa. One room of the latter presents an excellent example of hypocaust heating; this method was also used in the warm rooms of the bath.

Our last site is the most interesting of all—Trier.⁷ It is important not only because it is the oldest city in Germany, dating from its foundation by Augustus about 15 B.C. as *Colonia Augusta Treverorum*, and was, in the fourth century, the residence of the

emperor and of the governor of Gaul, but also because it is the most extensive Roman site in Europe north of the Alps. Although its grandeur is not as immediately evident as that of Timgad in North Africa, for example, since the city is inhabited today and the remains are, to an extent, scattered among modern buildings, it is possible to reconstruct the plan of the Roman city with a fair degree of accuracy.

The Moselle River at this point flows in an approximately northerly direction; on its route to its juncture with the Rhine at Coblenz, its course becomes very winding, in a manner that calls to mind the Maeander in Asia Minor. The site which was chosen by the Romans was hence most advantageous strategically, for by its position the city became a leading traffic center for the routes between Cologne and Gaul.

The northern entrance into the city was the *Porta Nigra*; the city wall, which skirted the river, incorporated part of the amphitheatre on the east and, after bending slightly to the southwest, ran in a straight line to the river.

By far the most famous of Trier's monuments is the above-mentioned *Porta Nigra*. Built toward the end of the third century, the gate had two towers for defensive purposes, similar to the present appearance of the *Porta San Sebastiano* of the Aurelian Wall of Rome, which dates from approximately the same time. The building material was sandstone, with the blocks joined, not by concrete, but by iron clamps, which have almost entirely disappeared because of the depredations of later ages. As in the case of the Pantheon, it owed its preservation to its use as a church, and many inscriptions and plaques appear on the upper levels of the interior to bear witness to its religious function.

The basilica, located approximately half a mile to the south and east of

the Porta, presents a fair suggestion of its appearance under the Romans. Its west wall, apse, and the lower portion of the east wall date from Roman times, but in that period marble and stucco covered the bare brick, and porticoes stood in front of the building and probably along its sides. Within the apse was the tribunal, where cases in law were tried. In modern times the building has been used as a military kaserne and as a church, but the last war destroyed it to such an extent that only the walls remain standing.

Continuing in a straight line from the Porta and the basilica for about a quarter-mile, we come to the baths now known as the *Kaiserthermen*. Although the city was already served by a public bath, construction on a larger building and complex was begun when Trier rose to the rank of imperial residence. The rather extensive remains permit accurate reconstruction of the whole. Now standing are the walls of the *caldarium*, which originally rose to such a height that they could have enclosed the Porta Nigra; before the *caldarium* was the *tepidarium*, with the *frigidarium* fronting the latter. On either side of the *tepidarium* were smaller rooms, which served as dressing rooms, lounges, discussion halls, and for other purposes. Stretching in front of the building was the *palaestra*, where the games of ball and other outdoor exercises took place.

In later Roman times the arrangement of the structure was considerably altered, and the bath part was greatly diminished in size. The remainder of the building and the court with its surrounding buildings were used as a kaserne or a basilica.

If one now crosses the modern railroad tracks in an easterly direction for some five hundred yards, he will come to the amphitheatre, built in the second century A.D., and will be immediately impressed by the sturdy entrance at the south end. The amphitheatre was

built partially on the side of a hill, and the excavated earth of the east side was used to build up the other side of the arena. Thus we have in this structure what may be called a fusing of Greek and Roman elements, mingling the customs of placing a theatre exclusively against the side of a hill, as in Greece, and of building walls in support of the spectators' seats, as in the Colosseum and Theatre of Marcellus in Rome and the theatre in Ostia and amphitheatre in Pompeii. The arena, which measured approximately 170 by 250 feet, was enclosed by three tiers of seats on all sides. The main entrances were on the north and south, with a smaller entrance on the west. Staircases for the spectators with seats in the second and third tiers were located on either side of each entrance; the remainder passed to their seats after entering through a tunnel. Though by no means as intricate as the substructure of the Colosseum, the underground areas of the amphitheatre furnished storage area and pathways.

Retracing our steps now for about three-quarters of a mile in the direction of the river, we come to the *Barbarathermen*, so named from their location in the former suburb of the city called St. Barbara. The rather limited remains, for the most part now covered by sod, do not allow the mind to picture easily its former appearance. It too, though it was erected about a century and a half earlier than the *Kaiserthermen*, presented the same complex of rooms as its successor.

Advancing next to the river, we come to the Roman bridge, which still has all but two of the original bridge piers. Although it has in modern times been widened and several of the piers were destroyed in the seventeenth century, the remainder still exist in their Roman form, built of large rectangular basalt blocks, placed one upon the other without benefit of mortar.

There are still other evidences of Roman remains in the city, such as

the nucleus of the great cathedral and part of its northern wall and traces of several temples, but much that was in earlier years to be seen has been greatly damaged by the war. The famed *Landesmuseum* was more than half destroyed and even today has comparatively little on display for the public's view. But still standing in its courtyard is the copy of the grave monument found at Igel, in the vicinity of Trier, which marks the burial site of the Secundinii, a clothmaker's family; on its base are depicted scenes of the textile trade.

With this rapid view of the Teutoburg Forest, Saalburg, and Trier, we may bring our tour to a close. These sites are not near one another, nor are all readily accessible by means other than automobile. Yet no visitor to Germany who is interested in Ro-

man antiquity can well afford to ignore all of them.

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NOTES

¹ For Roman Germany as a whole, F. Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1905, may still be consulted with profit. Each of the sites discussed in this paper will be found there.

² See Suetonius, *Augustus* 23.2.

³ *Annales* I.60-62.

⁴ *Annales* II.88.

⁵ For a survey of the various locales which have been suggested as the site of the defeat of Varus, see O. Henke and B. Lehmann, *Die neuen Forschungen über die Varusschlacht*, Gütersloh, 1910.

⁶ For the most complete survey of the excavations at the Saalburg, see L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, Homburg vor der Höhe, 1897. ⁷ For a brief survey of the history of Trier and some of its monuments, see W. E. Gwatkin, Jr., "Roman Trier," *CJ* 29 (1933) 3-12. In addition to the bibliography cited there, mention may be made of K. Schumacher, *Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, II Band (Mainz, 1923), pp. 107-9, 186, and 245; Rau's article "Treveri," *RE* VI A (1937) 2320 ff.; and D. Krencker, *Das Römische Trier*, Berlin, 1923.

Carmina et Lectiones de
Nativitate Christi

UNIVERSITATIS TUFTENSIS

FACULTAS CLASSICA
praebebat

carmina et lectiones de nativitate Christi,
in aedificio Cohensi, Prativadi in republica
Massachusettensi, a.d. xix Kal. Jan., anno
Salutis MCMLV.

I. SALUTATIO:

Radulphus Ahlberg,
praeses societatis classicae

II. Adeste, fideles Omnes

III. IO SATURNALIA, aetatis quasi incertae:
Clara Courtovich, Hadriana Gool-
kasian, Ricardus Kingsbury, Gual-
terus McNeill, Ludovicus Ricciar-
delli, Ruth Schwartz.

IV. Orbem terrae transvolate Omnes

V. VERGILI ECLOGA iv, 714 ab urbe condita:
Clara Courtovich, Hadriana Gool-
kasian, Margarita Herrett, Sara
Scherr, Carolina Weiner.

VI. Serena nocte media Omnes

VII. LECTIO EX LUCA, 2:1-14, saeculo Salu-
tis 1: Radulphus Ahlberg, Joanna
Fraim, Bartolomaeus Holland, Bru-
tus Lane, Carolus Russell, Sara
Scherr, Helena Taylor, Fatellus
Thomas.

VIII. O urbs pusilla Bethlehem Omnes

IX. BAEDAE HISTORIA (FABELLA EXACTA),
saeculo Salutis vii-viii:

Gregorius Magnus,
Geraldus Murphy
Praeco, Alexander Formisano
Servi,
Alanus Anderson,
Ricardus Howe

X. In dulci jubilo Omnes

XI. MIRACULUM SANCTI NICHOLAI, saeculo
Salutis xii:

Clerici:
Carola Cotter, Galla Erickson,
Hinda Greyser, David Holmes,
Isabella Levinson
Senex, Anna Ciccolo
Vetula, Helena Taylor
Sanctus Nicholaus,
Belinda Van Demark

XII. O viri, este hilares Omnes

Musici: Opifex clavichordi,
Margarita Johnson
Fidicen, Henricus Johnson
Magistri:

Franciscus Jones, Gulielmus Kag-
dis, Natalia Wyatt, Gulielmus
Wyatt, Van Johnson

Post finem programmatis cibus et potus
omnibus parabuntur!

VAN L. JOHNSON

Universitas Tuftensis

Color Imagery in *Macbeth* I and II and the *Aeneid* II A Pedagogic Experiment

TO COMPARE GREAT works of literature with one another is a fundamental means for training students in the skills of reading. Much is to be gained by doing so and it is possible to do it even within the limitations of the secondary school program. Such a combination between the English and Latin departments of the Buckingham School worked out so successfully recently, that it seemed worthwhile to write up the experiment. The following is a description of the procedure as conducted by Mrs. Helen McCann of the English department and myself, concluding with quotations from the students' reports summarizing and commenting on the results.¹

While Class XI was engaged, as is usual at that level, in reading *Macbeth* and the *Aeneid* II, it was noted independently in both courses how the scene of each is set in an atmosphere of political disruption, in gloom and bloodshed. As both classes employed more closely techniques of literary criticism and scrutinized how Shakespeare and Vergil achieved these atmospheres, it became obvious that the imagery of both works of literature, particularly that of color, was strikingly parallel. It was decided, therefore, to analyze these further. The Latin students began the experiment by going through Book II and underlining the color words or those that suggested color, such as *blood* or *pale*. Then these were aligned into groups and tabulated with the following results:

There was noted a remarkable absence of pure color words, except in two cases involving stock descriptions, once when Aeneas donned the skin of a *tawny* lion, and then when Venus ad-

dressed her son with *rosy* face. But since in ancient literature lions are invariably tawny and goddesses usually rosy, the references to these colors evoke little sensuous response on the part of the reader. Likewise, nature references which might so easily abound in color are strikingly subdued in Book II: *silva* (2 times) is mentioned, and trees given by name but described no further, *acernis*, *cupressus*, *laurus*. Similarly, vegetation, *gramina*, is not verdant but gives the impression in context of being dun-colored. And even *ulva*, the coarse grass of Sinon's account, was obscured by night. Only the *festa fronde* which is referred to in the celebration following the false departure of the Greeks from Troy, suggests green life. Yet even this whole festive passage is strikingly devoid of color. There is movement and gaiety in it, but Vergil controls the scene so tightly that it never lapses into the emotional abandon afforded by colorful descriptions; since the celebration is a delusional one, it would be false to unfurl the colored banners of victory too soon.²

Other natural elements are also colorless: Water is clear fluid, a *fons* or a *flumen* without epithet; it is mentioned once in regard to purification; *spumeus* simply describes Nereus. Even metals, the gilded beams and bowls of the plundered city, denote currency rather than optic splendour.

On the whole the suppression of pure color in the *Aeneid* II is striking; the scene is as dun and grey as the dust and smoke, the *pulvis* and *fumus*, hovering over the collapsing town. Instead, it is the blackness, fire, and bloodshed which provide the dominant color scheme of the book. In the 804 lines that comprise the *Aeneid* II the symbols of darkness and fire are equally

¹This paper was read at the Chicago meeting of the American Philological Association, December, 1955.

recurrent, appearing some fifty times apiece. The former refer to *night* itself (*nox*, 10 times) and to *shade* and *shadow*, *opaca*, *obscurus*, *caligare*, *umbra* (6 times), that shift as the *tacita luna* is alternately obscured by *clouds*, *nebula*, *nimbus*. Once also, *umbra* means more than *shade* and signifies the ghost of Creusa. But in this night that marked the end of Troy, brooding images of even gloomier darkness also reverberated, of *sleep* in which ghosts walk, and of *burial*, *somnus* and *sepultam*, of *poison* and *defilement*, *veneno* and *foedare*, and finally of *ater*, the essence of *blackness* itself. Even further, Vergil creates another area of darkness almost preternatural, and yet without even once resorting to the obvious adjectives. This occurs in the theme of the Wooden Horse, which is seldom termed *equus*, but more commonly regarded as a great *cavernous* womb pregnant with warriors: *uterus* and *alvus* (6), *caecus* (5), *cavas* and *cavernas* (5). So black and secure had that womb seemed to the Greek warriors that for a moment, when the tide of battle turned against them, they fled back into it, heedless of safer hiding-places in the city.³

The red of fire in various forms is reiterated some fifty times in the scene: *ignes* (16), *flamma* (13), *ardere* (8), *incendere* (7), and occasionally in such variants as *flagrantem*, *furit*, *aestus*, and *Volcano*. Similarly, the red of bloodshed, although only half as recurrent an image, is also very dominant, as words such as *sanguis* (15), *caedo* (5), *cruens* (2), and *sanie* are repeated again and again. In the city convulsed by incendiaryism and bloodshed the scarlet of blood and flame would perforce be the only true color the palette required.

Tones of illumination, when they strike such a canvas as the *Aeneid* II, are used mainly to contrast momentarily the darkness. This is true of the use of the word *lux* in most of the seven times it appears. Twice also it is used

to denote more persistent light as when Venus gleams in a *pure light*, and Pyrrhus in the brazen glow of his armor. Quite the opposite effect, however, is suggested by the *lux ultima*, the *light of the last day* of Troy's existence. Similarly, *lumen* means *light* only once in six times, for in the other five it is a synonym for the *eyes*. And even words like *fulmen*, *refulsit*, *effulgens* (2), and the forms of *clarus* (4) flash and intensify the darkness and horror rather than alleviate it. The flashing of metal, for instance, usually refers to the armor of the enemy, "*aera micantia cerno*,"⁴ says Anchises on the back of Aeneas, and the terrors of the night grow apace.

Only the *moon* and the *stars* lend their light, and if distant and intermittent, at least they are not hostile. Yet even the *sidera* (6) are not always the bright constellations, but sometimes merely indicate the direction of overhead, as when Anchises, though seated within his house, raises his hands to them. It is only at the very end of the book that light finally steadies the chaos of the night, when *stella*, *Lucifer*, the *star* of unusual magnitude rises above Mt. Ida, bearing its long train of *sulphurous yellow*, a lurid guide to dispel the red and the black of the night. Finally in the very last two lines of the book, *dies*, *day* comes,⁵ and with it Troy is finished.

Once the Latin students had worked out this procedure of tabulation and analysis of the color vocabulary and imagery in the epic they applied it to *Macbeth* Acts I and II, which affords a sample of comparable length, some 798 lines as compared with the 804 of the *Aeneid* II. Here too, the students found that Shakespeare had also erased his palette, allowing the same dun tones as Vergil: *smoke* (2), *fog*, *dun* and *pale* (3). The reference to the *primrose* of the primrose path is again like the *tawny* lion of Vergil, a stock and colorless epithet. Other color references, the class soon found, did not

evoke optic, sensuous images for their sake, but signified qualities either of innocence or their opposite. *Gold* and *silver*, for example, do not refer to aesthetic objects, but are ascribed to reputations, *golden opinions* of people, or else they contrast the desecration of the noble king: "Here lay Duncan, His *silver* skin lac'd with his *golden* blood."⁶ Again, to indicate his great purity of soul, Shakespeare has Duncan present his hostess with a costly gem, not the fabled emerald or the red ruby which would become her more, but the white and pure *diamond*.

Water, too, is a symbol of innocence, the colorless fluid of *rain* or *storm*, or more important, as once also in the *Aeneid* II, it is used for the purification of bloodstained hands. The overtones of innocence are such that even a *flower* is described neither as to kind nor color, but only as *innocent*; the *white* of the heart is counterposed to *red*, the red of the murderer's hands. Likewise *milk* occurs twice, as the *milk* of *human kindness* and of maternal function, to afford a contrast to the vein of calculated bloodshed.

The students found for the most part, that Shakespeare used the same canvas as Vergil, of black shot through with intermittent light, and the red of fire and blood. Indeed, Shakespeare parallels to a remarkable degree the vocabulary of Vergil to indicate the dark background of the scene: the *night* (10), *dark* and *darkness* (4), *black*, *entomb*, *poison*, *gall* (2), *filthy* (2), and for the *dark blue* of Vergil's serpent, Shakespeare has the *raven*. Where the *Aeneid*, by its special needs, finds the theme of the black *womb* of the Trojan Horse, *Macbeth* uses instead its special theme of *sleep* (14) with its connotations of total blackness.

By actual count it was found that images of light enter into the Shakespearean scene even less than they do in the Vergilian, and with little of the flash and brilliance. There are some twelve references of this sort, to *day*

(3), and *light* (2), to the *sun* and *sun-set* (2), and to a *lamp* as synonymous with the sun. For the rest, the *stars*, *lightning*, and *candle* have a brief mention and no more. *Fire* and *burning* appear some five times but do not illumine the scene.

As in the *Aeneid* II, the great color is, of course, *red*, the red that applies to *blood* almost without exception. Just once it is the red of the *painted devil* and once the color of *nose-painting*. But normally in *Macbeth*, the very word *color* becomes a synonym for red *blood*. *Blood* itself is reiterated twenty times and for the other times red is either *red* proper and *incarnadine* (4), or red as implied in *murder* (7), *gashes*, *wounding*, and *stabbing* (4), so that some forty times in all the crimson stuff pierces through the lines and saturates the scene.

After the students had thus worked over *Macbeth* Acts I and II, and had counted the words and then aligned the color vocabulary in this way, the similarities between the two poems seemed startlingly close. It was plain to all that it was the similarities of the situations that evoked these similarities of atmosphere — for the most part both scenes are set at night and revolve about political catastrophe brought on by violence. These, the class concurred, would be enough to require settings of blackness illumed by fire and blood, the flash of metal and the drift of moon and stars. Then gradually, in the course of the discussion, differences began to creep in as questions arose: What were the circumstances under which these governments collapsed and all this blood was shed? What of the quality of the blood itself? And what of the night in *Macbeth*—was it night simply as opposed to day? What of the fact that these analogous factors are used in two basically different literary structures, an epic and a tragic drama? After a series of such disruptive questions had been asked during a class period, the students were required to

mult them over for a few days, discuss them together or not, as they preferred, and finally to present individual essays on their conclusions as to the likenesses and differences in the color imagery in the sections of these two works of literature. The following are excerpts from their individual conclusions and some supplementary comments on these. It will be clear that the results differed with the scope and perceptions of each student.

Taking the broadest approach, that of the differences due to the literary forms used by the writers, Susan Sindall immediately came to the heart of the matter:

The actual differences in use of imagery between *Macbeth* and the *Aeneid* may be explained by the separate intentions of their authors: one author was writing a poem in praise of his own country, showing how, by the tragic fall of a brave city, a new city was established and carried on its noble traditions. This was his intent and he carried it out magnificently because his poem has all the power and sweep of a great epic; his characters move splendidly in front of a simple and effective background. On the other hand Shakespeare was writing a tragedy, and every image is intended to heighten the strength of his story of the tragic hero, Macbeth.

Though both plots revolve about the overthrow of a government, they are governments set in two entirely different worlds, as Sarah Edmonds indicates in the following:

The *Aeneid* (Book II) is the story of a city being destroyed by war and plunder. The book has a strong sense of physical reality. To be sure the Gods and Goddesses lend a touch of the unreal but they seem part of the war. The *Aeneid* is an epic poem dealing with a race of people. Vergil's clean, direct style of writing emphasizes the reality of the world. His imagery consists of direct similes always cleanly and thoroughly explained. Vergil writes mainly to describe the general picture of war and creates an atmosphere of reality. But in *Macbeth*, Shakespeare deals with the upset of a government by one man through various crimes, murders. Shakespeare uses his images to create a strange,

unnerving atmosphere. Thunder, lightning, the prime elements of earth and water interchange. Duncan's horses eat one another, the supernatural, all create an atmosphere of misty unreality in Scotland.

What Sarah Edmonds has indicated is quite true; that the grief and troubles of Aeneas arise from the collapse of the physical world about him, and that although this creates for him some very real fears and hazards, these are externally imposed upon him; they are beyond his capacity to rectify, but at least they are not of his own making. In *Macbeth* the situation is exactly the opposite: the world is collapsing because of the machinations of the hero and his wife. Macbeth's growing awareness of his moral responsibility in the destruction of the government creates fears and hazards which are not externally imposed but arise from his own internal anxieties. He moves, therefore, half in a real world of instability and on the verge of collapsing, and half in a world which he imagines has already collapsed. Consequently the Shakespearean imagery and metaphor is "strange," the elements, such as day and night, slide into each other; they are not clearly demarcated as in the *Aeneid* II. Time has become truly out of joint for Macbeth in a way that Aeneas could not even conceive. This difference in the play of daylight, Anna Jeffrey has grasped with much insight:

The difference between day and night in *Macbeth* is never very clearly established. The only scene where the sun comes out, so to speak, is in Act I, scene VI. Somehow one does not wish to blow away the mist for fear one should see something dreadful. Just as in Book II the differences between right and wrong, reality and dreams, are more clear cut so is the difference between light and dark.

And from a slightly different slant, Posy Hall further embellishes the idea:

Shakespeare uses it [darkness] as a light blanket to cover and penetrate [permeate?] all action and scenery; to create the oppressive impression of fog, murkiness and weird colors; as an element of suspense.

In the *Aeneid* it forms the backdrop against which plays the brilliant and fearful light of fire; it is a refuge from the searing smoke and heat; it is, also, an element of suspense. This suspenseful element is quite differently used — that you never know when somebody with a gleaming shield and sharp spear may jump out from a dark street or from behind a tree. In *Macbeth* the suspense is something from other regions that may appear to make your world go topsyturvy any minute. . . . Light words are pinpricks in the red and black tapestry of the poem. In *Macbeth* light words serve no real contrast but instead they mingle with the black images to form a grayish blanket, grey clouds and several brief flashes of lightning.

Even in the treatment of the supernatural in the *Aeneid*, as Sarah Edmonds indicated, the gods and goddesses and the ghosts have a kind of externalized reality that make them seem like part of the everyday world and one tends to forget their extraordinary nature. In contrast, what could be more monstrous and supernatural than having two horses suddenly turn and devour each other? Besides, and the point is so obvious that it needs only passing mention, in making the immortals and the dead speak, Vergil is only using the devices that automatically served as part of the epic writing of the day. These figures are imposed on the theme; one could imagine the events of the *Aeneid* proceeding without much fundamental change without the actual appearance of the deities; but it is impossible to imagine *Macbeth* and its atmosphere without the Weird Sisters.

Perhaps the clearest examples as to the differences between these two poems can be illustrated in their polar conceptions of the role of blood, which Sarah Edmonds has summed up with her characteristic sensitivity:

In the *Aeneid* blood is a symbol of war and destruction, of the killing during war. Blood is a substance which flows freely and needlessly. But in *Macbeth* blood is a sticky, sickly substance that cannot be washed off. The blood is individual and

terrifying. The atmosphere that Shakespeare creates with blood is one of repulsiveness and his continual use of it helps magnify Macbeth's crimes. The atmosphere Vergil creates is one of general destruction.

An equally illuminating perception lies in Posy Hall's comment:

Whereas the main image in *Macbeth* is blood, that in the *Aeneid* is fire. Psychologically they are extremely different. Blood evokes a feeling of physical repulsion, and that caused by fire is purely emotional. Fire makes you want to get away from it, and blood makes you sick. Therein lies the difference in the imagery of *Macbeth* and the *Aeneid*.

By grasping these essential differences Posy Hall and her classmates have come a long way from when they first underlined the color references in the *Aeneid* II. What happened to their thinking in the interim? First, they were faced with the idea that might not have occurred to them, that two great works of literature, though in different languages and of two markedly different periods of history, had certain essentials in common, namely the theme of political catastrophe. These catastrophes were envisioned in much the same light and color, as the students readily grasped by isolating and then aligning the color words into their logical groups. The similarities at first were striking, and gave them much insight as to how a poet chooses and manipulates his vocabulary for certain effects. But to have abandoned the process of literary exploration at that point would be to leave the students with a false impression, and a very limited one; it is not enough merely to tabulate words. It is necessary, and most important, to analyze these words further and perceive exactly how they are related to their context. In the case of *Macbeth* and *Aeneid* II, it became apparent that even when the poets relied on the same vocabulary and images, they sought to achieve different ends. The students gained considerable in-

sight, for example, when they saw that bloodshed does not always mean the same thing each time it is mentioned; that the poet can intend it to be sharp and cleanly shed or, depending on the needs of his theme, it can cling and stain. Again, there is all the world of difference between a hero wishing to flee from the fire that would burn his flesh and the hero whose flesh is already rotten with the fire of ambition.

As the students made these observations, the differences between the poems advanced to the point where it was valid to ask whether this comparison was warranted at all. But after all they had not been asked to compare such absurd polarities as, say for instance, the *Aeneid* II with *Romeo and Juliet*.⁷ It so happened that the particular curriculum the students were pursuing presented this almost unique opportunity to gain this experience in comparative literary criticism. One could have them apply these procedures to the *Aeneid* alone or to *Macbeth*, or any other work of literature they might be studying, but much more was to be gained by comparing and contrasting. Furthermore, anyone can pile adjective upon adjective of praise for great works of literature, or speak in generalities about the picturesque descriptions or

marvellous characterizations, but that is not enough. Such claims must be demonstrated and proven, and, fortunately, there are such simple techniques of literary analysis which can be used in the classroom for beginning such a demonstration. This is one, and there are others; these are the processes for guiding and training the imagination; they are what one means by teaching students how to read and understand what they read in any language.

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NOTES

¹ It should be mentioned that this experiment was conducted with a class of nine students, all of whom did at least creditable work on it.

² For contrast, to show how a leisurely voluptuous effect can be gained by the accumulation of sensory detail, the class read Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes*.

³ *Aeneid* II, 401.

⁴ *Aeneid* II, 734.

⁵ *Dies* had appeared earlier, in line 324, but as *summa dies*, which hardly suggests daylight, but rather its opposite. This parallels the usage of the *lux ultima* mentioned earlier.

⁶ Or, as one student, Anna Jeffrey, commented on this point, Duncan's blood is golden, perhaps, because he is a king, and therefore richer and set apart.

⁷ In the English class, while analyzing the character structure of *Macbeth*, certain striking points of comparison were found between him and the Pushkin-Moussorgsky interpretation of Boris Godunov with the result that the class decided to listen to a recording of the opera.

SOLILOQUY IN THE RARE BOOK ROOM*

Now, salutations, Aldus, from an age
Remote from yours, from consecrated thought
Likewise remote. Hail! scholar diligent
Who, with the thirty working at your side
Published Greek classics and Italian songs,
Grammars of Greek and Latin, and the works
The erudite academicians wrote.

I take each precious book into my hand
With reverence. Five hundred years and more ago
You he'd them in your careful hands, perhaps.
These penned corrections in the margins, were
They yours? They must be priceless, then, indeed,

This little volume's printed in Aldino —
 A dainty name and a most delicate type. —
 One wonders not at the exquisite from Venice.
 You must have walked along the cool arcades
 Of the Piazza, loitered in its shops,
 I've seen them, too, Messer Manuzio.

But no! You labored ever at your desk
 Feeling one life too brief for the great cause
 You had espoused. Tireless, in fevered haste,
 You worked, that students in barbaric lands
 Might know the classics that you loved so well.

When you decided to make smaller books,
 Ceased publishing the cumbrous folios,
 You helped me, too, of whom you never dreamed,
 For huge books ask a long and fattish purse.
 So, but for you, or someone like inspired,
 I doubt if I could either read or write!
 I could not stand here in the rare book room
 Touching these storied pages tenderly.

How old they are! These, incunabula —
 The Hypnerotomachia (Dream of Love),
 And this Greek grammar. These rich octavos
 But little younger, treasured no whit less.
 Your imprint glows, symbolic of depth plumbed —
 Dolphin and anchor sleekly intertwined.

The pattern of *this* type was sleekly formed
 From Petrarch's flowing hand, and this Greek type
 Marcus Musurus set the pattern for.
 Erasmus of Rotterdam edited *this* work
 Living within your household at the time —
 Mind you, not reading proof, but editing!

You, Aldus, standing thoughtful at your desk
 Do not seem old. *Perhaps the eager age not.*
 I see the puckered frown upon your brow.
 I've read your sign, "Know business should be brief."
 Wise motto. Visitors besieged your press
 Curious to see a sage Venetian scholar.
 You frowned upon them then, as now on me
 But I must linger long enough to say —
 "Five hundred years are not too long to hold
 Your name in reverence, Aldus Manutius."

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Davenport, Iowa

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Vergil, Spokesman for the Augustan Reforms

Non temnere divos—"not to despise the gods"—these words in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (620) come as a remarkable climax to Vergil's awesome description of the prison-house of Tartarus, abode of souls incurably reprobate. Following convention, he has pictured there some of the traditional great sinners of mythology (580-607), such personages as the sons of Aloeus, Salmoneus, Tityos, Ixion, Pirithous. Then, with a flash of that genius which makes the sixth book one of the great social documents of the ancient Roman world, he forsakes mythology and adverts to fact (608-617), portraying certain of the capital sins that were plaguing the Roman state; these Mackail¹ lists as "(1) hatred of brothers or cruelty to parents, (2) fraud on dependents, (3) avarice, (4) adultery, (5) the following of *impia arma*, not further defined, but suggesting revolutions and civil wars, (6) disloyalty to masters."

Then follow three and one-half verses (617-620) reverting again to persons of mythology, Theseus and Phlegyas, the latter of whom typifies impiety towards the gods; but the last of the verses is a mighty dictum blending at once notions mythological and ideas contemporary:

Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos —

"Learn of justice — be warned! — and of gods be ye not disdainful."

Finally, there are four lines (621-624) recurring once more to great moral ills of Vergil's day: says Mackail²: "the crimes expressly named are treason for hire, sale of justice, and incest." It is especially noteworthy that only in the one line uttered by Phlegyas do we hear any declaration from the hapless ranks of the reprobate souls; noteworthy it is, too, that his cry, ringing through the darksome

shades, calls for justice among men, but more emphatically, because concludingly, for a true *pietas erga deos*, a genuine religious piety—*non temnere divos*.

We are concerned in this paper with "Vergil, Spokesman for the Augustan Reforms," and so we must take some time to deal with those reforms themselves. They come, so to say, as an answer to Horace's famous admonition in the last of his six "Roman Odes," his great

Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
Aedisque labentis deorum et
Foeda nigro simulacra fumo
(C. 3.6.1-4),

Thine elders' failings thou shalt, unblamed, atone,

O Roman, till thou shalt have reset again

The gods' own shrines and fallen temples,

Yea, and their statues the smoke has blackened.

These lines, it is thought,³ were penned somewhat before the year 28 B.C., while the struggle culminating in the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) was still much in the mind of Horace. And it is subsequently to this same decisive battle that Octavian, soon to be acclaimed *Augustus* (as he actually was in 27 B.C.), turned to his much discussed "reforms" in the Roman state religion.

The background to these "reforms" is readily understood. The antique religion of very ancient Rome, suggested by the shadowy *numina* or "powers" to which the non-speculative husbandman and shepherd paid their vows, had in the late monarchy and more especially during the republic given way to the more picturesque anthropomorphism of the Greeks, abetted by certain native developments such as the deifying of abstract concepts. The

result was an amalgam of ancient Roman, Italian, and Greek religious concepts, with some additions of Orientalisms. But wealth, luxury, and the heady wine of conquest had combined to weaken and almost destroy the vitality of the state religion. It was this condition of affairs that the Octavian "reforms" sought to remedy.

Whether Octavian was drawn to religion as such, or whether he saw in the state cult merely another means of self-solidification in office and regularization of a distraught political system, is a question of no great pertinence to us in the present paper. The fact of his interest is our sole concern.⁴ Nor need we raise the question of whether or not the "reforms" had any lasting effect, whether they improved the moral temper of the day, whether they achieved the objectives the prince presumably had in mind.⁵ The secure, historical fact is that he did institute "reforms," that he was interested in matters religious—as when, for example, according to the story in Dio Cassius (50.4), he revived the ancient rite of the declaration of war by the ceremonial of the *fetiales*, in preparation for the struggle with Cleopatra and Antony—and that his mind and purpose were well understood by Vergil.

We need not suppose, again, that he had in advance any definite chart of action. Yet in looking back we find it convenient to see the "reforms" concretized in certain specific acts; these are conveniently expressed as the ten following:

(1) *The reorganization of two ancient priesthoods*, the *Fratres Arvales* or Brethren of the Fields, and the *Sodales Titii* or Associates of Titus Tatius. These two *collegia* had languished under the Republic; but under Octavian's vigorous revivification, membership in them became a matter of social and political prestige.

(2) *The reestablishment of temples*: following a decree of the Senate in

28 B.C., Octavian set about the rebuilding of temples and sacred places; and he proudly remarks in his own *apologia pro imperio suo*, the great *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (20), that in his sixth consulship he had rebuilt in the city eighty-two temples of the gods, neglecting none that stood in need of repair.

(3) *The revision of the Lupercalia*: it was natural that Octavian should concern himself with this picturesque, antique ceremonial race, by the *Luperci*, around the Palatine Hill. Among the benedictions following upon their rite, the most celebrated for English readers is that memorialized in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1.2.6-9), where Caesar says to Marc Antony, who is to be one of the *Luperci*:

Forget not, in your speed, Antonius,
To touch Calpurnia; for our elders say,
The barren, touched in this holy chase,
Shake off their sterile curse.

(4) *The building of the temple of Apollo*: this important structure was set up by Octavian in the year 28 B.C., on the Palatine, adjoining his own imperial residence and voicing in its gleaming marbles the notable devotion of its builder to Apollo, along with Apollo's mother Latona and his sister Diana. There were many reasons for this dedication by Octavian to a divinity essentially Greek—among them, perhaps, the one so strikingly expressed by Franz Altheim:⁶

... as the incorporation of divine majesty, restraint and dignified aloofness, Apollo was supremely fitted to express the tone of a "classic" age. That was why the new epoch of Augustus was able to recognize in him the god who expressed its innermost being.

(5) *The revision of the Sibylline books*: these venerable documents, so potent in the determination of Roman policy and therefore subject to corruption by conniving politicians, stood in need of correction. This Octavian sought to do. Likewise, he had the

books themselves transferred from their depository in the basement of the Temple of Jupiter of the Capitoline to the new Temple of Apollo. Seemingly, this act meant that now the *ritus Graecus*, or "Greek rite," differing in some important respects from the *ritus Romanus*, and associated with the *collegium sacris faciundis* rather than with the *collegium pontificum*, was to be centered in Apollo's great new abode.

(6) *The revival of the ludi saeculares*: these traditional "secular games," held in connection with the close of one "cycle" and the initiation of a new "cycle," had originally been held on three successive nights, in the Campus Martius, honoring Dis and Proserpina. Octavian now added day celebrations as well, venerating Jupiter and Juno, but more especially Apollo and Diana. This attention to the twin children of Latona is abundantly evident upon a rereading of Horace's official hymn for the rites, his *Carmen Saeculare*.

(7) *The revival of the flammate of Jove*: in 12 B.C. Octavian became *pontifex maximus*, chief of the college of pontiffs, the presiding body in the Roman state religion. It was an office he had probably coveted for some years; yet with commendable restraint he avoided displacing the incumbent, Lepidus, his quondam partner in the second triumvirate, and succeeded only upon the death of Lepidus. He then set about filling by appointment a very ancient priesthood, and one hedged about with various difficult and unwelcome restrictions, that of the *flamen Dialis*, the high priest of Jove. This flammate, so intimately associated with the very core of the State cult, had lain unfilled for three-quarters of a century, from 87 to 11 B.C.

(8) *The augmentation of the prestige of the Virgines Vestales*: as *pontifex maximus*, Octavian should have had his official residence in the *Regia* in the Roman Forum. Likewise, he was in *loco parentis* to the Vestal Virgins, the

members of that distinct sisterhood who, as daughters of the state, had severed the normal ties of daughters to their own fathers. But he gave over the *Regia* to the Vestals themselves, and set aside a portion of his own palace on the Palatine for the cult of Vesta. So strongly did he admire this ancient sisterhood that, on the occasion of a vacancy in their ranks, as Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 31), he swore that if any of his granddaughters had been of eligible age he would have proposed her name.

(9) *The activation of the worship of his own genius*: the *genius* of a Roman male, as distinguished in some vague way from the man himself, was traditional in Roman religion; and there was something, so to say, beyond the merely human in such a *genius*. At street crossings throughout ancient Rome there were small local shrines, showing images of the *lares compitales*, or attendant spirits of the crossings. Between each two of these *lares* Octavian now set a third image depicting his own *genius*. The three came to be known as the *lares Augusti*, and to them offerings were made.

(10) *The construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor*: vowed at Philippi in 42 B.C., this temple was thought of as an expression of gratitude to Mars the Avenger, for his aid in Octavian's exacting vengeance from Brutus and Cassius for the assassination of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. Finally dedicated in 2 B.C., in the new Forum of Augustus, it became a very important structure for the Julian house. For in it, with Mars, was Venus Genetrix, ancestress through Aeneas and Iulus of the Julian family; to it fared young males of the Julian family, in connection with the ceremonial assumption of the *toga virilis*, the garb of maturity.

Non temnere divos: Vergil, to be sure, did not live to see the actuation of all these "reforms"—for his untimely death occurred in 19 B.C. Yet he was fully cognizant of the general aims and purposes of the prince in regard to the

state cult; and his own genuinely religious heart must have rejoiced at the program, as his keen mind must have discerned with Octavian the latent potentialities of such a course towards toughening the moral and political fibres of the commonwealth. Fully sympathetic as he was with the principate and the prince, he may well have been attracted especially by the spirit of these "reforms," and this supposition will explain much in his *Aeneid* and, to a lesser extent, in the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*.

Whatever Vergil's individual convictions may have been—and no one can doubt that his deep philosophical inclinations must have elevated and refined his own ideas of deity—it is the *di patrii*, "the gods of our fathers," whom he puts forward and exalts in his poems. One may recall the devices engraved by Vulcan upon the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.626-728). Among them, in their varied scenes from Roman history, are flashes from the Battle of Actium, where strange Oriental divinities, doomed to defeat, are ranged against the gods of Rome:

Omni genumque deum monstra et latrator
Anubis
Contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque
Minervam
Tela tenent (698-700). . . .

Monstrous gods of all tribes, and with them
the barking Anubis,
There against Neptune, yea, and Venus, and
goodly Minerva
Brandish their spears. . . .

There, too, in the Roman ranks are Mars, the *Dirae*, *Discordia*, and *Bellona* (700-703). And, climactically, there is *Actius Apollo* (704-705), Apollo of Actium, stretching his bowstring from the ethereal heights; it was this reported appearance of Apollo here fighting on the side of Octavian that made intelligible, in part, the prince's unusual devotion to him. And the pictured shield goes on to portray Octavian's triumphant return to Rome, and his gift to the gods of Italy (714-716):

Maxima ter centum totam delubra per
urbem.

Mighty shrines, thrice a hundred, throughout the breadth of the city.

"Three hundred" is probably to be explained as a poetic generalization for a "large number," and so may reflect the more prosaically numbered eighty-two temples and fanes which, as we saw, Octavian himself takes credit for restoring in the claims of the *Res Gestae* (20).

The *Fratres Arvales* and *Sodales Titii* of Octavian's first "reform" are not formally mentioned by name in Vergil's works: other antique priesthoods, however, are noted—for example, the *Luperci* (*Aen.* 8.663), and the *Salii* (*Aen.* 8.285, 663-664), the leaping priests of Mars, with their *ancilia*, the sacred shields which legend said had fallen from the skies. Vergil's allusion to the repair of temples and shrines—the second "reform"—we have already referred to; as we have to the *Luperci* of the third "reform," just a moment ago. The fourth "reform," the construction of Apollo's temple on the Palatine, is mirrored in the prominence given to Apollo in Vergil's writings. As a single instance, one might cite the almost ecstatic *tuus iam regnat Apollo* of the great fourth *Eclogue* (10): The poet is, to be sure, addressing Lucina, whose brother, if we identify Lucina with Diana, Apollo is; yet we may almost think of the *tuus* as transmuted to a reference to Octavian, with the joyous assurance, "Thine own Apollo now doth reign!" Incidentally, the same *Eclogue*, in a justly celebrated verse (5), proclaims the birth of a new age:

Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur
ordo.

Now is begun once again the mighty march of the ages.

In the same way, the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (792-794) foretells the birth of Augustus Caesar, who is destined to found the *aurea saecula*—the recurring "ages of gold"—once ruled over by Saturn in ancient Latium. Thus, though

Vergil did not himself live to view the *ludi saeculares* in 17 B.C., Octavian's sixth "reform," he is definitely heralding such a celebration. More than that, if we are to agree with Franz Altheim,⁷ Vergil as *vates* or inspired bard is even enjoining upon the prince and proposing to him a line of action, in line with the prophetic and admonitory powers the gods have given him.

That Octavian should be concerned with a revision and greater regard for the physical safety of the Sibylline books—his fifth "reform"—is quite in accord with the dignity and awesome prestige Vergil accords to the Sibyl herself. One has only to recall her supreme importance in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, where she not alone brings words of momentous counsel to the inquiring Aeneas, not alone directs him as to how he shall undertake the descent with the lower world, but even serves as his guide and companion throughout the various stages of that wondrous pilgrimage, to understand how admirably Vergil has extolled, through her, the writings which were associated with her name. In the same sixth *Aeneid*, the Trojan hero's fervent appeal for direction and aid (56-76) had concluded with a solemn promise of a temple of solid marble to Apollo and Diana—Octavian's structure on the Palatine—and the assurance that in it the Sibyl's "dooms and secret utterances" would be duly housed. *Foliis tantum ne carmina manda*—"only to leaves thy sayings commit not" (74)—he says, recalling on the one hand the legend of the Sibyl's early use of such materials for her inspired utterances, and suggesting on the other the need for diligent care in the conservation of the body of sayings actually at hand.

Octavian's seventh "reform," the restoration of the office of the *flamen Dialis*, was actuated only after the prince had become himself *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C., some years after the poet's untimely decease. The spirit, of course, of the act accords with Ver-

gil's prevailing reverence for the state religion and all its traditional associations and offices. The same may be said of the eighth "reform," that of adding to the prestige of the Vestal Virgins; for Vergil is careful to trace back to ancient Troy itself the cult of Vesta and the sacred fire, whose tending was a special concern of Vesta's distinctive sisterhood, the *Virgines Vestales* (*Aen.* 2.296-297). The tenth "reform," as we have seen, reached its fruition when in 2 B.C. the great temple honoring Mars the Avenger was dedicated. But Vergil knew of the vow in 42 B.C. to build the structure; that both Mars and Venus should be worshipped in that same temple fittingly reflects the whole thesis of the *Aeneid* as to the origin of the Roman race—with Romulus, the immediate founder of the city of Rome, having as his mother Ilia (or Rhea Silvia), a descendant of Aeneas and thus of Venus, and as his father the war-god Mars (*Aen.* 6.777-779).

The ninth "reform," that of the spread of the veneration of the *genius* of Octavian, may well be the last to be treated. Surely it is momentous. For although a technical distinction was to be made between the *genius* of the prince and the prince himself, we can hardly suppose that the ordinary Roman in Vergil's day exercised so nice a philosophical acumen. If he worshipped at all, he worshipped the living man—just as countless Greeks and Orientals before him had professed worship of an Alexander the Great, a Ptolemy, or any of the many Near-Eastern potentates who demanded or acquiesced in divine honors. Further, it was no great step at Rome from a worship of the *dead* Julius Caesar, now officially apotheosized as a *divus*, to that of the *living* Octavian. Augustus might, from cautious policy, reject such worship except for his *genius*, but an enthusiastic populace would neglect the distinction.

So it is that Vergil, as early as the time of his *Eclogues*, is ready to use

the term *divus* of Octavian and to associate him with the smoke of sacrifice "twice six days a year," as he does in the first *Eclogue* (41-43). So it is, too, that with climactic force, in the pageant of Roman heroes yet to be born whom Anchises unfolds in the sixth *Aeneid*, Octavian is introduced as a destined leader with divine associations (789-805). "Augustus Caesar, son of a god," the son of his apotheosized and adoptive father, Julius Caesar.

We need always to recall the solid achievements of Octavian, now well actuated as Vergil penned the lines of his great epic: achievements manifold and mighty, both at home and abroad—but, for a people weary of intestine warfare and foreign combat most notably signified by the *peace*, the beginnings of the *bona pax Romana*, which Octavian had brought about.

Thus there might readily seem to be "something divine" about so able a man. And Vergil could readily acquiesce with the enraptured words of Cicero a generation before him, when the orator and philosopher, in his moving *Somnium Scipionis*, had disclosed in the regions of the Milky Way that sidereal abode "from which came the rulers and preservers of states, and to which they return."⁸

Non temnere divos: Vergil, to be sure, is genuinely a spokesman for the

religious "reforms" of Augustus. Vergil was genuinely convinced of the place of the divine in the affairs of men. He felt that the neglect of these gods was at least one explanation for the wars of republican Rome. Hence, in the words of Phlegyas, he makes his plea—*non temnere*, perhaps *non neglegere*, *divos*. What to Horace in the *Roman Odes* may have been an occasional, though earnest, thought, was probably to Vergil a habitual conviction. And in his plea, *non temnere divos*, we may discern the involvement, not alone of traditional *di patrii*, the ancestral gods, but of that new *divus* or *divus*-to-be, the statesman whose "reforms" meant a new and greater Rome, Augustus Caesar himself.

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NOTES

¹ J. W. Mackail, *The Aeneid: Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 1930), 526.

² *Ibid.*, 527.

³ See Adolf Kiessling, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, Oden und Epoden* (Berlin, 1930), 288 f.; Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, *Horace, Odes and Epodes* (Chicago, 1910), 311.

⁴ For the "reforms" see Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*² (Munich, 1912), 73-78.

⁵ Here see *inter alios*, *ibid.*, 78-87; Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, translated by Harold Mattingly (London, 1938), 350-393.

⁶ Altheim, 353.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 390 f.

⁸ "... harum rectores et conservatores, hinc profecti huc revertuntur."

CATULLUS: *Iam ver egelidos refert tepores*

April returns the first new-warmed chill days;
Now Heaven's wild equinox is still;
A little west wind whispers. Come, Catullus,
Forsake the prairie areas, the highlands
Too hot, too rich, too soon. Farewell, Nicaea!
Time to be flying to bright coastal cities.
The mind, a little scared, and much excited,
Is on its way by now. Goodbye, goodbye,
Good fellows all, whom, outward bound together,
So many different lines are bringing home.

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Valerius — Maximus an Minimus?

MODERN LITERARY historians do not think much of him. To Fowler, he is "artificial, pompous, and dull." According to Rose, he has a "most atrocious style, bombastic, would-be-clever, full of artificial and at the same time clumsy and obscure phraseology." Mackail, too, speaks of his "turgid and involved style." The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* calls him "shallow, sententious, and bombastic, full of the boldest metaphors and rhetorical artifices . . . especially forced antitheses and far-fetched epigrams"; in addition, he is "almost entirely non-critical." Hadas, finally, claims that he is "so little regarded that nine out of ten professional scholars would not recognize his name"; no wonder, for he "has nothing to say worth hearing."

Modern scholarship has passed him by. His work is not included in the Loeb Classical Library, the Bibliotheca Oxoniensis Scriptorum Classicorum, the Collection des Universités de France published by the Association Guillaume Budé. The latest edition of which I am aware is the Teubner text of C. Kempf—the second edition of which appeared in 1888.¹ Even before that, editors do not seem to have been drawn to him. After the *editio princeps* of c. 1470, I note three editors in the sixteenth century (Manutius, Pighius, Lipsius), one in the seventeenth (Vorst), two in the eighteenth (Torrenius, Kapp), and three in the nineteenth (Hase, Halm, Kempf). There was a rash of critical attention paid to the emendation of the text, in the latter part of the last century, mainly by German scholars, but it soon faded away. There are no annotated editions that I know of. I cannot recall seeing a recent article devoted to him.

Even the translators seem to have shunned him: the only English version, to my knowledge, goes back to 1678.

Who is this much-belittled, much-neglected author? And what atrocious stuff did he commit? Why were his misguided efforts preserved at all, when much that is precious in Latin literature has disappeared? Being one of Professor Hadas' "nine out of ten," I decided to seek the answers. Having found them, and being pleasantly surprised at what I found, I ventured to think that some of the readers of the *Classical Journal* might be interested in the outcome of my inquiry.

The answer to my first question is, of course, in all the handbooks. Our author bears an illustrious name, for at least three other bearers of it distinguished themselves signally in the early history of the Roman republic: the legendary consul of 505 B.C.; the son of M. Valerius Corvinus, himself three times consul (312, 289 and 286); and the consul of 263, surnamed Messalla because of his capture of Messana during the first Punic War. Socially and historically, our Valerius Maximus cuts a poor figure beside these great aristocrats, to whom he was presumably no more related than were the Sullan annalist Valerius Antias and his contemporary the neoteric poet Valerius Cato. What is known of him is to be gathered from the few scattered references that he makes to himself.

The work is dedicated to Caesar, "cuius caelesti providentia virtutes . . . benignissime foventur, vitia severissime vindicantur." That "Caesar" is Tiberius is made clear by a reference to his "paterno avitque sideri," i.e. Julius and Augustus. A further indication of the time of composition is given in the invocation to "Pudicitia" which opens Book 6, for the words "tu, Palatii columnen, augustos penates sanctissimumque Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras" refer to Livia, who became Julia Augusta when at Augustus' death in 14 A.D. she was

adopted into the Julian family. The present "celebras" sounds as if this invocation had been written before her death in 29. A passage in Book 9 (11 Ext. 4) must have been written after the fall in 31 of Sejanus, who is clearly the subject of this violent denunciation of the man who "haec (i.e. pacem, leges) violatis amicitiae foederibus temptavit subvertere," although he is not named. Two passages (2.6.8 and 4.7 Ext. 2) indicate the author's friendly relations with Sextus Pompeius, consul in 14 A.D. and proconsul of Asia c. 27-30. From the first of these it appears that Valerius accompanied this friend on his trip to the East. The second, written after Pompey's death ("optimi amici iactura"), is an eloquent confession of his indebtedness to the man "cuius in animo velut in parentum amantissimorum pectore laetior vitae meae status viguit, tristior adievit; a quo omnium commodorum incrementum ultro oblata cepi; per quem tutior adversus casus steti; qui studia nostra ductu et auspiciis suis lucidiora et alacriora reddidit," which shows that Valerius occupied the position of favored client and protégé. This relationship is made plausible by the last personal reference to be adduced, a passage (4.4.11) in which he seems to include himself among those "qui parvulus census nostros numquam querellis vacuos esse sinimus" and "modicam fortunam quasi praecipuum generis humani malum diurnis atque nocturnis conviciis laceramus." One gets the picture of a man of modest means, gratefully attached to a powerful member of the nobility, devoted to the Empire and the imperial family, and with enough self-awareness to recognize some of his faults and enough honesty to admit them.

What did Valerius write? His nine books, which occupy 472 pages in the Teubner edition of 1888, are entitled *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*. The contents were "ab inlustribus electa auctoribus," as the author

states in his preface, "ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit." In other words, they were meant to be a source book for those who needed illustrative material, "non minus disputantibus quam declamantibus necessariam" (in the words of Valerius' fifth-century epitomator Julius Paris), just as the *Exempla* of the Middle Ages provided anecdotes with which preachers could enliven their sermons. Valerius' work is, in fact, nothing but a huge collection of anecdotes, drawn mainly from the history of Rome, but also—in passages labeled "Ext."—regularly glancing at the doings "exterrarum gentium." Although Valerius says merely that he chose those "memoratu digna," it is plain that his basic interest is in "virtutes" and "vitia," for it is these aspects of the anecdotes that he stresses. This stress appears even in the table of contents, where headings such as "de fortitudine," "de amicitia," "de ingratis," "de iustitia" are far more frequent than purely descriptive ones like "de somniis," "strategemata," and "quae mulieres apud magistratus pro se aut pro aliis causas egerunt." Its effect upon the anecdotes themselves will be seen as we proceed, for it is all-pervasive. Indeed, to it can be traced the main responsibility for the unfavorable opinions cited above, as well as for the complaint of another epitomator, Januarius Nepotianus (c. 500 A.D.): "opera eius utilia esse, si sint brevia; digna enim cognitione componit, sed colligenda producit, dum se ostentat sententiis, locis iactat, fundit excessibus, et eo fortasse sit paucioribus notus quod legentium aviditati mora ipsa fastidio est."

What Valerius wrote is certainly not great literature. Yet the information he conveys and the stories he tells, while not always accurate, are still full of intrinsic interest; his style I find highly revealing and often amusing, sometimes very effective; and to catch the gradual disclosure of his

character in the personal stand he persists in taking makes it well worthwhile to read him through.

Many of the stories are, of course, familiar to every classicist, for among the "illustribus auctoribus" used by Valerius are Cicero, Sallust and Livy. Thus one can read, to choose a few samples at random, about the untimely death of the two sons of L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia (5.10.2); about Cornelia and her jewels ("traxit eam [sc. hospitam] sermone donec e schola redirent liberi, et 'haec' inquit 'ornamenta sunt mea.'" 4.4); about Horatius Cocles and his defense of the bridge (3.2.1); about Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic ("Velim a sole mihi non obstes." 4.3 Ext. 4); about Marius' escape from death at Minturnae (1.5.5 and 2.10.6); about the killing of Archimedes at the storming of Syracuse ("protecto manibus pulvere 'noli' inquit 'obsecro, istum disturbare.'" 8-7 Ext. 7); about Caesar and the pirates (6.6.15); about Regulus and his voluntary return to Carthage (1.1.14); about the tragic death of Aeschylus ("super quem aquila testudinem ferens elusa splendore capitis—erat enim capillis vacuum—perinde atque lapidi eam inlisset, ut fractae carne vesceretur." 9.12 Ext. 2). But there are many that are less known, or perhaps found only in this collection. Again, a few samples will suffice to give an idea of the range.

There is the cute story (1.5.3) of the puppy named Persa, whose death both saddened the little girl whose pet he had been, and gladdened the heart of her father, the consul L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, as an omen of impending victory in the campaign against King Perses (Perseus) of Macedonia which had just been entrusted to him. There is the miraculous dream in which Artorius, physician to the future Augustus, on the night before the battle of Philippi, was warned by Minerva not to keep his seriously ill patient out of the coming engagement;

Augustus' obedience saved him from being caught when Brutus captured his camp (1.7.1). We attend a Roman trial in the tale of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., whose reputation for "integritas" was such that the jury refused to examine the accounts which the man who was accusing him of malfeasance in his province had passed around in proof of Metellus' guilt: "in vita Q. Metelli argumenta sincere administratae provinciae legenda sibi iudices crediderunt" (2.10.1).

One of the admirable aspects of Valerius is his willingness to include stories about the humble as well as about the mighty and famous. Thus he tells of the anonymous soldier who, fighting under Pompey against Sertorius in Spain, discovered that the man he had just killed and stripped was his brother; he rescued the corpse, arranged for the cremation, and then committed suicide over the burning pyre (5.5.4). Again there is the story (6.8.6) of the anonymous slave who, during the great proscriptions under the second triumvirate, helped his master Urbinus Panapio to escape from his country home and then, dressing himself in his master's clothes and putting on his ring, "se . . . in cubiculum ac lectulum recepit et ut Panapionem occidi passus est."

Valerius' interests are surprisingly broad, for he gives us glimpses even of the art world, as in the story (8.11 Ext. 7) of the painter who, furious at his inability to reproduce the froth at the nostrils of an otherwise successful equine picture, at last unwittingly succeeded when the sponge, "omnibus imbutam coloribus," with which he was going to wipe out the painting accidentally produced the desired result. "Quod ars adumbrare non valuit casus imitatus est."

There are even funny stories, though Valerius is inclined to take life seriously and fails to appreciate the wit of some of his subjects. He does re-

late the "iocus" played by the senator M. Popilius, who on his deathbed gave every indication of having included his lifelong friend Oppius Gallus in his will, bestowing upon him his last embrace and kisses and even handing him his rings: Oppius had of course been omitted from the will. But Valerius shakes his head at this frivolity: "senator populi Romani, curia egressus, homo vitae fructibus continuo cariturus, sanctissima iura familiaritatis morte pressis oculis et spiritu supremos anhelitus reddente scurrili lusu suggillanda ('to insult'—a favorite word with Valerius) sibi desumpsit" (7.8.9).

Not that there are nothing but anecdotes to be found. Valerius occasionally also gives simple facts, as in his examples of longevity among the Romans (8.13.1-6): M. Valerius Corvinus—100; L. Caecilius Metellus—100; Livia, wife of a certain Rutilius—97; Cicero's Terentia—103; Clodia, wife of Aufilius—115 (this good lady had survived fifteen children!). Usually these non-anecdotal facts bear upon Roman customs and traditions, upon which he dwells with respect and admiration: the piety of the old Romans and their devotion to religious ceremonies (1.1.1); their treatment of women and their marriage and dining customs (2.1); various political usages (2.2.6-8, 2.8.6).

These stories, facts and customs are generally rendered in a plain narrative style, as for example in the extract from the Aeschylus anecdote quoted above. But, as Januarius Nepotianus pointed out, Valerius is seldom content to stop with the facts. The characteristic flavor of his work stems largely from two peculiarities. The first is his insistence upon linking one topic to another, one item with the next, and this despite the fact that the collocation is rarely logical or inevitable. Thus the discussion of the various components of "virtus," which begins with Book 3 ("de indole," "de fortitudine," "de patientia," . . . "de constantia"),

is continued in Book 4.1 with the words "Transgrediar ad saluberrimam partem animi, moderationem." The first "exemplum," appropriately, deals with P. Valerius Publicola, "ut ab incunabulis summi honoris incipiam." The transition to the second is "Vix iuvat abire a Publicola, sed venire ad Furium Camillum libet," that to the third, "Par Furio moderatione Marcius Rutilus Censorinus." The next few are given without transition, except for a weak "vero," "at," or "quoque." With 4.1.8, however, Valerius tries again: "Ne Africanus quidem posterior nos de se tacere patitur." In 12, after explaining his inability to do justice to all the "excellentibus . . . personis rebusque" by which he is "circumfusus," he continues "quapropter bona cum venia duo Metelli, . . . maxima patriae ornamenta, strictim se narrari patiantur." In 14 he still cannot leave the topic: "Tot familiis in uno genere laudis enumeratis, Porcium nomen . . . silentio praetereundum esse negat posterior Cato." Finally, in 15, "Ad externa iam mihi exempla transire conanti M. Bibulus . . . manus incit." The "externa" having been disposed of without too much attempt at linkage, the section closes with a summarizing "sententia" (Ext. 9): "et sane nihil est tam praeclarum aut tam magnificum quod non moderatione temperari desideret"; the following (4.2) begins: "Quae quoniam multis et claris auctoribus illustrata est, transgrediamur . . ." thus neatly closing the cycle begun in 4.1.

The second peculiarity is Valerius' compulsion to comment in lush, highly rhetorical language on practically every item in the collection. These comments are not merely indicative of the author's educational and social background, the real source of the linguistic excesses and effusions of an imitative and unoriginal personality. They also disclose various aspects of this personality, so that one closes the book with the feeling that one has come to know a good deal about the men-

ality of what may well be a typical representative of the middle-class Romans of the first half of the first century A.D. A brief sampling here may both show some of these traits and let the reader judge whether the style is too rich for his taste.

Most obviously it is ancient Rome and its greatness that elicit Valerius' affection. His "exultat animus maximorum virorum memoriam percurrens" (4.3.13) is akin in spirit to Livy's "nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctorum nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit" (Praef. 11). His pride in Rome's good qualities transpires for example in this remark (4.7 Ext. 1): "Haeret animus in domesticis, sed aliena quoque bene facta referre Romanae urbis candor hortatur," as does his grief for her sorrows in 2.8.7, after an item taken from the Civil Wars: "Piget taedetque per vulnera rei publicae ulterius procedere." He seems sincerely religious, as in 1.6.11: "Sic deorum spreti monitus excandescunt, sic humana consilia castigantur, ubi se caelestibus praeferunt"; yet his remarks in 1.8.7 indicate a healthily sceptical attitude which strikes a modern note (it also shows, again, how close his attitude toward early Roman history is to that of Livy): "Nec me praeterit de motu et voce deorum immortalium humanis oculis auribusque percepto quam in ancipiti opinione aestimatio versetur, sed quia non nova dicuntur sed tradita repetuntur, fidem auctores vindicant; nostrum est inclitis litterarum monumentis consecrata perinde ac vera non refugisse."

Valerius feels toward slaves and women the way one would expect a Roman to feel: "Restat ut servorum etiam erga dominos quo minus expectatam hoc laudabiliorem fidem referamus" (6.8), and, after stories illustrating the grief and joy of Roman women after the news of the battle of Lake Trasimennus had reached Rome, "Quas dolor non extinxerat, laetitia consumpsit. Sed minus miror, quod mulieres" (9.12.2). The same feeling of

condescension is displayed to the common man, as in the story of Pompey's soldier referred to above, which begins (5.5.4): "Sed omnis memoriae clarissimis imperatoribus profecto non erit ingratum, si militis summa erga fratrem suum pietas huic parti voluminis adhaeserit."

How Valerius thought about philosophy, finally, is adequately indicated by his comments on the bees that were said to have dropped honey on the lips of the sleeping Plato when he was a baby; they will at the same time give a striking example of Valerius' style at its worst—or, shall we say, at its most abundant (1.6 Ext. 3): "Mihi quidem illae apes, non montem Hymettium tymi flore redolentem, sed Musarum Heliconios colles omni genere doctrinae virentes dearum instinctu depastae, maximo ingenio dulcissima summae eloquentiae instillasse videntur alimenta."

It would be pleasant to present the reader with more examples of Valerius' views and style, but these are perhaps sufficient. My last question remains to be answered: "Why were the works preserved?" Nepotianus already saw the answer when he wrote: "mecum sentis opera eius utilia esse." As a handy compendium of facts and stories, with an admirable accent on the ethical, they traveled almost unscathed through the Dark and the Middle Ages. In addition to the two abridgements already mentioned, there is a recension of an abridgement made at Ravenna in 450 A.D.; a series of extracts prepared about 875 by a student of the Abbott of Ferrières, Servatus Lupus; manuscripts of the text of the ninth and tenth centuries; and a versification by Radulfus Tortarius of Fleury in the twelfth. Petrarch in the fourteenth was acquainted with him, and his *editio princeps* is dated in the late fifteenth. Thus he never suffered the almost total eclipse of, say, Catullus. His present detractors, in view of this to them undeserved

popularity, might well quote Valerius himself (8.7 Ext. 4): "Stupet mens admiratione . . . et iam transit alio." A fitting phrase with which to stop our account of this very ordinary Roman, whose book, in complete contrast to Horace's famous "Nil admirari" is a constant wonderment at the virtues and vices of mankind, and a

constant passage from one marvel to the next.

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NOTE

¹ I have not seen the edition of Pierre Constant (Latin text and French translation), published by the Librairie Garnier.

Two Homeric Miniatures

IN THE EXCEEDINGLY active field of Homeric criticism, there is now a strong tendency to believe that the poems involve oral composition. The solution of the many problems involved in this matter will certainly change beliefs, among them the assumption of the unitarians that a pen-poet composed the epics just about as they have been preserved. Amid these changes, however, and as part of the puzzle, it is essential to retain old and to suggest new evidence of literary artistry in the poems, for there are many signs that Homeric oral composition was of a unique kind. Here two similes and their contexts in the *Iliad*, chosen for similarity and contrast, will be examined.¹

4. 473-87:

There Telamonian Aias struck down the son of Anthemion
Simoeisios in his stripling's beauty, whom
once his mother
descending from Ida bore beside the banks
of Simoeis
when she had followed her father and
mother to tend the sheepflocks.
Therefore they called him Simoeisios; but
he could not
render again the care of his dear parents;
he was short-lived,
beaten down beneath the spear of high-
hearted Aias,
who struck him as he first came forward
beside the nipple
of the right breast, and the bronze spear-
head drove clean through the shoulder.
He dropped then to the ground in the dust,
like some black poplar,

which in the land low-lying about a great
marsh grows
smooth trimmed yet with branches growing
at the uttermost tree-top:
one whom a man, a maker of chariots, fells
with the shining
iron, to bend it into a wheel for a fine-
wrought chariot,
and the tree lies hardening by the banks
of a river.

8. 300-8:

He spoke, and let fly another shaft from
the bowstring,
straight for Hektor, and all his heart was
straining to hit him;
but missed his man, and struck down in-
stead a strong son of Priam,
Gorgythion the blameless, hit in the chest
by an arrow;
Gorgythion whose mother was lovely
Kastianeira,
Priam's bride from Aisyme, with the form
of a goddess.
He bent drooping his head to one side, as
a garden poppy
bends beneath the weight of its yield and
the rains of springtime;
so his head bent slack to one side beneath
the helm's weight.

The accepted view of the Homeric simile, as stated by Bowra,² is that the poet greatly developed this feature inherited from the tradition of oral poetry, that he ordinarily uses it to compare one aspect of the scene at hand in a "simple, but masterly" way and then "follows his fancy and develops the picture without much care

for his reason for using it." One can agree that Homer loves detail for its own sake, but also hold that more thorough and imaginative analysis will in many cases show more appropriateness of detail than has been recognized and will demonstrate a rather more than simple relationship between the simile and its context. The traps into which one can fall in handling such matters are illustrated by Bowra's observations on two similes in the *Iliad* cited to show inappropriateness: "The blood on the white flesh of Menelaus is just like the scarlet stain put on an ivory bridle, but it adds nothing to the comparison to say that the bridle is a king's treasure and desired by many charioteers" (4.141-5). "The stones thrown by the Achaeans and Trojans are just like a fall of snow in winter, but the comparison is lost when we are told that the snow is stopped by the advance of the waves on the shore" (12. 278-86). In the first case, the detail is entirely suitable, the point being simply that this is no ordinary bridle even as Menelaus is of special status; the associations of uniqueness, beauty, and pride expressed in the simile carry appropriate feeling over to the figure of Menelaus. In the second, the verb involved is probably of passive voice rather than middle, and the waves are being "stopped," not the snow; the main point of 281-6 is the muffling effect of the enveloping snow, even as the attack on the wall is at a standstill under the fall of stones on both sides until Sarpedon is aroused. This point can be carried still further, for the notion of "covering" is continued when in another simile (299-306) the attack contemplated by Sarpedon is compared to that of a lion upon a sheepfold "protected" by men and dogs. Homer's workmanship here is tight.

Bassett fruitfully distinguishes between the emotional effects of narrative and of similes, and concludes: "The similes must be cast in the meter of the epic, and they must be carefully articulated with the narrative. In all other

respects, in brevity, detachment, theme, treatment, and feeling, they are lyrics."³ Our two passages exhibit the fusion of narrative and sensuously expressed emotion.

In the narrative of the first, we are informed that Simoeisios was born beside the banks of the river when the mother had come down from the mountain into the pastureland with her parents; he was named after the river. He is unable to carry out his filial relationship, for in the forefront of battle he is struck down by the forceful spear-thrust of Aias. Details should not be pressed, because we can not be sure of some of the associations, but clearly this is a genre incident with implications of "action" and "force."

These implications are intensified by the simile which visualizes the incident in terms of natural scene. The details of the simile are full, are factual rather than "poetic," strong rather than sentimental; consequently their emotional effect is restrained. Alive, the poplar stands in fertile ground with its growth concentrated vigorously at its top. Felled by the axe of a chariot-maker, it is to be the most basic part of a chariot, and lies seasoning beside a river. The narrative and the simile are of one piece, designed with close correspondence of detail to create the imprint of active strength. The simile uses a simple kind of natural beauty to invest the whole context with the emotional content of the feeling that such strength is so vital and admirable that grief is restrained.

The second example of miniature introduced for variation of military narrative is superficially similar to the first; one is led to imagine a traditional form of casualty-list which might include name, parentage, origin, circumstance of death, identity of victor, nature of wound. Also, the second passage shows the same kind of inner relationship between narrative and simile as was found in the first, but there is an entirely different poetic individuality. Here the keynote is passivity and

beauty. In the narrative, Gorgythion is accidentally hit by a misdirected arrow. He is the royal son of a very beautiful woman. His head droops. The notion of beauty and the movement of the head "set off" the simile, and we are made to see the poppy in the garden weighed down by its own blossom and the spring rain. In addition to the obvious fact that the simile sensuously stamps the imprint of beauty introduced in the narrative, there are some significant details. Apart from the arrow-shot, this passage contains little action and none of the sturdiness found in the first. Both parts of the passage are briefer; the simile is more brilliant. Detail is restricted to the stray arrow, royalty, beautiful mother, the flower, the spring

rain: accident and grace. The result is intensity in the sense of loss at the snuffing-out of beauty.

Both miniatures are examples of Homer's larger capacity to create individuality. Here, however, they have been examined to show the working of an artistic refinement which must not be lost from sight among other Homeric characteristics and problems.

NORMAN T. PRATT, JR.

Indiana University

NOTES

¹ The translation used is R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago, 1951).

² C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 114-28; the quotations are from pp. 126-7. See also his *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952), pp. 266-80.

³ S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley, 1938), pp. 169-70.

CIGLA, II

(continued from page 301)

NEW YORK, N.Y.

(St. Paul's Church)

Sub hoc marmore positae sunt exuviae ELEONORAE, uxoris Sigismundi Hugget de Nova Eboracensi, armigeri, natae Lincolnensi urbis Magnae Britanniae, cujus si indefessam in Deum pietatem, immotam in amicos fidem, amorem ad maritum illibatum, si in aequales comitatem, in egenos liberalitatem, in omnes spectes benevolentiam, vix aetas haec parem habuit, superiorem nulla. Obiit, 3 men. Decem. 1794, aetatis 57.⁶³

(Trinity Church)

M. S. JOANNIS KEMP, LL.D. Aberdoniensis; qui, per annos abhinc septem et viginti, mathematicam et physicam in collegio Columbiano Neo-Eboracensi, magna sua laude, professus est; sed studiorum labore confectus, ac hydrope tandem oppressus, e visis excessit, decimo septimo kal. Decembris,

annoque salutis 1812mo. aetatis vero quinquagesimo. In gratam praeceptoris atque amici memoriam, tabellam hanc Societas Columbiana Peithologiana ponendam curavit.⁶⁴

Memoriae sacrum JOHANNIS CHARLTON, M.D. Natus 12 Ap. 1736, obiit 12 Jun. 1806. Hujus ecclesiae multos annos servus omnino diligens, amicus semper fidelis. Vir bonus, integer, pius. Christianus lucem mundo tenebroso edidit suam. Abi, viator, esto talis in vita, similis ei in morte evades et gloria sempiterna erit Domino.⁶⁵

(Trinity Church Yard)

Siste, viator, quod tu es, fuimus; erisque tu quod nos sumus. Hoc in tumultu requiescunt una THOMAS BAYEUX, mercator, nuper Neo-Eboracensis, atque conjux ejus MAGDALENA. Ille vita functus 22 Apr. A. D. 1742, haec, 3 Sept. A. D. 1734; ille aetatis 76, haec 47. Amabiles et decori in vita nec in morte sunt divisi.⁶⁶

SCHENECTADY, N.Y.

Non omnis moriar. Ne spernas nec parcas.⁶⁷

JONATHAN EDWARDS, S. T. D. North. reip. Mass. natus, A. D. 1745, coll. Nassov. A. B. 1765, et eodem tutor, 1767, ordinibus ecclesiae sacris Nov. Port. Connect. reip. initiatus, 1769, iisdemq. Coluni, 1796, atque Coll. Concord. Schenect. N. Ebor. praeses, 1799. Vir ingenio acri, justitiae tenax propositi, doctrina vere eximia maxime imbutus atque praeditus, christianae fidei in temeratae defensor tum fervidus tum praevalidus, et in moribus intaminatis enituit. Magnum sui desiderium bonis omnibus reliquit, die 1mo. Aug. anno salutis humanae, 1801.

MARIAE, Jonathani Edwards conjugis dilectissimae, nec non memor hoc est etiam monumentum. Ipsa urbanitate, moribus, pietate, viro optimo dignissima, aquis, eheu! submersa fuit, Nov. Port. reip. Connect. anno Domini 1782, eademque urbs reliquias ipsius habet.⁶⁸

CARLISLE, PENN.

(Old Graveyard)

Samuel Alexander. Ob. XXXo Die Julii, A. D. MDCCCLXI. Anno Aetatis LIII 53. Magno Misere Dilectus Amore.⁶⁹

LANCASTER, PENN.

Siste, viator, fui et sum et rursus ero. Hic in pace requiesco. Hic jacet, spectando beatam resurrectionem, corpus dom. LIDIAE DU FRENE. Nata Flo- teron, uxor doctoris Alb. Du Frene. Obdormivit in Domino, die 16 et sepulta fuit, die 19 Augusti, 1799. Amicitia et amore uniti fuerunt et a morte in paulo reuniti erunt.⁷⁰

PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

Mors mihi vita in coelo quies est.⁷¹

(Arch Street Presbyterian Church)

Sub hoc marmore conduntur reliquiae GILBERTI TENNENT, hujus ecclesiae pastoris primi, cujus maxime opera

aedes haecce, Deo sacra, ad summum perducta fuerit. Patre Gulielmo Tennent oriendus, Armachae, Hibernorum natus, nonis Feb. 1802. Novae Brunsvicae pastor electus, 1725; indidem Philadelphiam evocatus, 1743; obiit 10 kal. Feb. 1764, annum agens 62. Vir fuit prudens, consultus, venerabilis; moribus et pietate spectabilis; conjux, frater, pater, et amicus, inter praestantissimos; verae religionis propugnator acerrimus, doctus, fidelis, secundus; et denique christianus sine furo extitit. Hoc elogio decorandum curarunt ecclesiae coetus sui quondam auditores.⁷²

(Christ Church)

... Col. S. S. Trinitat. Dublin Studuit Alumnus. / Obiit Die V Mensis Januar. Anno Salut. / MDCCLXII. AET. LXXV. / Age, Lector, / Purae Religionis, honestae veritatis, benevolentissimae, / Exemplum velis, / Hunc Christianae fidei vindicem, Probitatis Cultorem, / Benevolentia Studia, / Respice, sequere, imitare. / Juxta hoc etiam marmor sepulta jacet / JOANNA ELIZABETHA praedicti ROBERTI JENNEY / Conjux / Quae sex tantummodo dies post mariti sepulturam / Obiit Anno Aetatis suae LXIV.⁷³

(Burial Yard,

First Presbyterian Church)

H. S. E. ALEXANDER ARBUTHNETUS, Roberti Arbuthneti civis Montis Rosarum in Britannia Septentrionali filius natus minor, qui artium liberalium et philosophiae curriculo ante elapsam decimum sextum aetatis annum in academia Abredonensi faeliciter emenso, summo cum adplausu propter ingenii acumen et tantos in tantula aetate progressus, artium magistri decus atque insignia meruit. Dein ad sacrum ministerium a patre destinatus, licet de Deo O. M. piissime senserit, vitae institutum officiis minus, probitate aequae obstrictum, praetulit. Ideoque tandem ad has oras se contulit, ubi per quindecennium commer-

cio sedulam navavit operam, cujus spatii cum alteram partem caelebs, alteram in conjugio concordissimo, at sine prole vitali exigisset, licet quinques illi parturierit fidissima uxor, Demum corporis languore potius quam morbo adfectus animam placide efflavit, 21 die Novembris, A. D. 1719, aetatis anno 38.⁷⁴

BRISTOL, R.I.

In hoc coemeterio conduntur reliquiae SHEARJASHUB BOURN, A. M. collegii Harvard. Cantab. alumni, viri vitae integri, qui reipublicae commodo sibi. honore justitiarum in hac republica principis, integre, longum, usque ad obitum munere functus, in Christo placide obdormivit nonis Februariis, A. D. 1781, aet. suae 61.⁷⁵

NEWPORT, R.I.

Hic jacet SARAH, charissima uxor Nathanielis Newdigate, armigeri, et filia Simonis Lynde, nuper Bostoni, mercatoris. Obiit, 18 die Julii, anno Domini 1727, an. aet. 55.⁷⁶

D. O. M. CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY, ordinis sancti Hierosolymitani eques, nondum vota professus, a vetere et nobili genere, apud armoricos, oriundus, unus e regiarum classium praefectis, civis, miles, imperator, de rege suo e patria, per 42 annos, bene meritus, hoc sub marmore jacet. Feliciter audax, naves regias, post Croisiacum cladem per invios Viconiae fluvii anfractus disjectas e caecis voraginibus, improbo labore, annis 1760, 1761, inter tela hostium, detrusit, avellit, et stationibus suis restituit incolumes. Anno 1762, terram novam in America invasit. Anno 1772, renunciatus praetor, ad regendas Borboniam et Franciae insulas, in Galliae commoda et colonorum felicitatem, per annos septem, totus incubuit. Foederatis ordinibus pro libertate dimicantibus, a rege christianissimo missus subsidio, anno 1780, Rhodum-insulam occupavit; dum ad nova se

accingebat pericula, in hac urbe, inter commilitonum plactus, inter foederatorum ordinum lamenta et desideria, mortem obiit gravem bonis omnibus et luctuosam suis, die 15 Decembris, 1780, natus annos 53. Rex christianissimus, severissimus virtutis iudex, ut clarissimi viri memoria posteritati consecratur, hoc monumentum ponendum jussit, 1783.⁷⁷

CHARLESTON, S.C.

(St. Michael's Church and Churchyard)

NON SIBI DOMINE SED PATRIAE.⁷⁸

Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus, / tam chari capitis?⁷⁹

Heu! quanto minus est cum / reliquis versari quam tui meminisse.⁸⁰

Hic Reliquiae mortales jacent / F. P. H. & G. H., Liberorum R. S. Hart, / Unius hujusce Ecclesiae Pastorum. Primus / a Calendis Junii X.^{mo} Die decessit anno / MDCCLXV tribus actis annis: / Altera ab iisdem VII.^{mo} Die mortua est / Anno MDCCLXVII primum agens annum. / Heu! tam cito Mors Spem brevem / Vitae Brevioris excidit! Sed per Christum / Vitae immortalis Januam Mors Patet: / Lugentium Parentum et Solamen.⁸¹

(Unitarian Cemetery)

Hic deficit eulogia supra / laudem omnem fuit illa.⁸²

Heu! / Quanto Minus Est / Cum Reliquis Versari / Quam / Tui Meminisse.⁸³

Cara Vale!⁸⁴

LEO M. KAISER

Loyola University (Chicago)

NOTES

⁶³ Alden 4.200.

⁶⁴ Alden 4.259.

⁶⁵ Alden 4.259.

⁶⁶ Alden 5.252.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Development of Plato's Ethics. By JOHN GOULD. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. xiii, 241. \$4.75.

GOULD'S STUDY, originally submitted in 1952 as a Fellowship dissertation to Jesus College, Cambridge, and attempting to trace a development of Plato's ethical thought, is divided into three parts. The first (The Personal Ideal) discusses the ethical tenets of Socrates, the second (The Ethical Society) outlines the ethical theory of the *Laws*; the third (The Growth of a Reality Principle) tries to plot the stages of Plato's development between the two "opposing" positions.

Gould accepts the ethical propositions which traditionally are associated with Socrates: "virtue is knowledge"; "evil actions are involuntary and the result of ignorance"; also the unity of the moral virtues, although he admits less agreement among scholars on this point (3); but he believes that the accepted interpretation of these tenets involves a misunderstanding of the meaning of *epistēmē*, which should imply a moral ability, a form of knowing *how*—not merely knowing *that* (6-7). To Gould, then, "Socratic thinking was not, as some commentators have felt, intellectual, but a quality of faith, of faith in the ability of the individual to attain a 'technique' of morality, and to achieve the practical assurance that the possession of a technical skill alone can give" (66). According to Gould Plato believed at the end of his life "that it was only by the remoulding of a rational and self-sufficient social frame, that any but the most morally tenacious of men could arrive at a positive moral stature" (xii). The author tries to trace the growth of Plato's pessimism (or realism) in the *Meno*, *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Statesman* and *Philebus*.

In evaluating the main thesis of the vol-

ume—Plato's change from optimism to pessimism in ethics—the reader should consider some evidence which the book has not taken into account. The scenes, participants and topics vary considerably between the *Laws* and the so-called "Socratic" dialogues; conversations, for example, with the youthful Lysis and Charmides would naturally stress different aspects of ethics from the discourse with the Athenian Stranger—the former would be likely to stress an optimistic and individualistic approach to the youth, while the latter would accentuate a more realistic attitude in discussing the masses of people. The *Seventh Letter* (324-326), furthermore, reveals Plato's realistic attitude also in his earlier life toward human conduct: his reaction to the conduct of his own relatives, friends and acquaintances in the political vicissitudes of 404-403 B.C.; his disgust with the trial and death of Socrates; and his displeasure with the customs and morals at Syracuse. Plato's continuation, on the other hand, of his work at the Academy until his death, as well as his provision in his will for its endowment, point to his optimism even in later life toward the moral education at least of some individuals.

The evidence which the author does include, however, occasionally seems slanted to harmonize with his thesis. Gould, for example, bases his interpretation of Socrates' dictum "virtue is knowledge" partly on the use of the cognate *epistamai* in Homer, the early poets and Herodotus in the sense of "know how"; yet he merely mentions, without sufficiently considering, the testimony of Aristotle which substantiates the accepted interpretation (*Eth. Eud.* 1216b2 ff.). Again, according to Gould, some of the most distinguishing marks characteristic of Plato's "later" ethical thought are

⁶⁷ Alden 1.267. On tombstone of Christopher Yates, d. 1785. No indication of cemetery.

⁶⁸ Alden 1.219. Inscriptions on opposite sides of monument. No indication of cemetery.

⁶⁹ Sarah W. Parkinson, *Memories of Carlisle's Old Graveyard*, Carlisle, Pa. 1930, 96.

⁷⁰ Alden 5.207. No indication of cemetery.

⁷¹ Alden 5.159. No indication of cemetery. On the tomb of Rev. Andrew Rudman, d. 1708.

⁷² Alden 1.172. Epitaph by President Samuel Finley of Princeton.

⁷³ Edward L. Clark, *A Record of the Inscriptions on the Tablets and Gravestones in the Burial Ground of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1864, 25. The tablet is set in the floor of the church.

⁷⁴ Alden 1.166-167.

⁷⁵ Alden 4.72-73. No indication of cemetery.

⁷⁶ Alden 4.29. No indication of cemetery.

⁷⁷ Alden 4.40. No indication of cemetery.

⁷⁸ Jervey 16. On a tablet to Confederate dead.

⁷⁹ Jervey 19. On a tablet to Rev. Theodore Dehon, d. 1817.

⁸⁰ Jervey 91. On the gravestone of Edward B. Eastburn, d. 1630.

⁸¹ Jervey 131.

⁸² Gilman 58. On the tomb of Mrs. Ann Bailey, d. 1826.

⁸³ Gilman 71. On the tomb of John Bennett, Jr., d. 1828.

⁸⁴ Gilman 106. On the tomb of Kezia H. Lee, d. 1830.

his "careful attention to the pains, pleasures, desires and passions" of the people (75), and "the overriding importance which education assumes" (79). The author, however, does not even mention the statements in the *Protagoras* (351b-358d)—an "early" dialogue according to Gould—which apparently give a preeminent position to pleasure; the prominent position given in the same "early" dialogue to education by society from infancy throughout life (325c-326e) the author does mention, but then argues that Socrates, although making no comment, rejects the view placed in the mouth of Protagoras. Gould's argument is: "... in the *Crito* where Socrates compares the punishment meted out by the people of Athens to the threats given to children, we may see in what light he viewed the conventional notion" (58)—apparently assuming that punishment and threats are parallel to education.

The preceding paragraphs should not discourage anyone from studying Gould's volume. It is a clear, well-written and stimulating study with an excellent bibliography (226-230). At times the author's insight is very commendable, particularly on Plato's frequently misunderstood remarks concerning the written word in the *Phaedrus* and the *Seventh Letter* (21-24). For a different approach to Plato's ethics the reader may consult *Plato's Theory of Ethics* by R. C. Lodge (London 1950), which presents Plato's views as more of a unity instead of representing a development.

ROBERT G. HOERBER

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The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought. By BRUNO SNELL. Translated by T. G. Rosenmeyer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 324. \$5.50.

A BRIEF NOTICE no doubt should suffice, primarily because the volume does not represent strictly new material. Seven of the thirteen chapters appeared originally as articles in German periodicals from 1929 to 1945. They were assembled and published, with additional chapters, in 1946 under the title *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, of which a second and enlarged edition was printed in 1948. The present translation is based on the second edition, adding one chapter, "Human Knowledge and Divine Knowledge among the Early Greeks," which Professor Snell supplied to the translator in manuscript form.

The underlying thesis, which gives more unity to the book than the collection of separate articles might indicate, is the process by which the human spirit became more and more conscious of itself. The author, well known for his scholarly accomplishments (e.g., his *Aeschylus und das Handeln im Drama* and *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis*) draws his material especially from Homer, Greek Lyric, Pindar, Greek Tragedy, Aristophanes, Socrates and his predecessors, Callimachus and Theocritus—referring also to Cicero, Horace and Vergil among the Roman authors.

The brevity of this review should not detract in any way from the value of the book, which merits and will reward careful study. At times, however, the author is prone to generalization, the exceptions to which are not noted. His statement, for example, that the Christians "were never called upon to renounce their beliefs, but merely to carry out the prescribed rites" (27) does not harmonize with Pliny's Letter to Trajan (X.96). Also Homer's frequent use of *mermêrizô* does not coincide exactly with the categorical claim: "There are no divided feelings in Homer" (19), as another reviewer has already pointed out—G. M. Kirkwood, CW 47 (1953-54) 107.

For favorable and more detailed remarks on the German second edition, summarizing the arguments of each chapter, the reader may consult the review by Kurt von Fritz, *AJP* 72 (1951) 92-98.

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Peccatum: Sin and Guilt in Ancient Rome. By ANNA ELIZABETH WILHELM-HOOLJBERGH. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1954. Pp. xi, 125.

A SEMASIOLOGICAL study, presented as a doctoral dissertation, which cites (and indexes, 116-123) approximately seven hundred instances in secular Latin of the terms *peccare*, *peccatum* and *culpa*. Numerous passages from early Christian Latin which employ *peccatum* and *culpa* are quoted but not indexed.

The authoress' impression at the beginning of her study was that *peccatum* and *error* were closely related, but as a result of her study she was convinced that *peccatum* and *culpa* belong together. She distinguishes between sin as trespassing, the actual wrong deed (*peccatum*) and guilt as fact or guilt as feeling (*culpa*), although admitting that in Christian as well as in secular literature *peccatum* may mean guilt as fact—compar-

ing the Greek *hamartia*, which may mean both sin as trespassing and guilt as fact.

The interpretation of particular texts at times is necessarily subjective. The authoress suggests, for example, that a sexual sin may be implied by *culpa* in Cicero, *Ad Att.* 12.33.2: *vehementer me sollicitat Atticae nostrae valetudo, ut verear etiam, ne quae culpa sit* (53). Also the interpretation of *peccare* in Horace, *Carm.* 3.24.24: *et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori*, leads the authoress, who would translate "and sinning is forbidden or the reward is death," to disagree with those who would interpret *peccare* in a non-religious sense (20-27). The authoress again differs with other writers in the interpretation of *culpa* in Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.34: *malum nullum esse nisi culpa*, preferring to render *culpa* as sin or guilt—not, as others prefer, lack of insight or failure to use reason, as *culpa* is defined by Cicero in *Tusc.* 4.31: *aspernatio rationis* (59-61).

The volume contains no bibliography—merely a list of sixty-seven articles, dissertations and books quoted in the monograph (124-125). Many authorities on Roman religion (e.g., Fowler, Wissowa, Aust) are conspicuous by their absence.

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Plato's Phaedo: Translated with Introduction and Commentary. By R. HACKFORTH. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. x, 200. \$4.00.

THOSE WHO ARE familiar with the author's previous volumes on the *Philebus* and the *Phaedrus* will welcome Professor Hackforth's latest study, containing a most readable rendering of Plato's discussion of the soul and its immortality—a dialogue which ranks among the masterpieces of prose literature and, in the opinion of some critics, even higher than the *Symposium*. The plan is similar to Hackforth's previous books—a concurrent commentary interspersed throughout the translation (27-190), preceded by an introduction (3-24) and followed by 1) additional notes on difficult passages (191-194); 2) the criticisms of Strato in translation (195-198); and 3) an index of names, exclusive of speakers in the dialogue (199-200).

The author acknowledges indebtedness to the work of J. Burnet, F. M. Cornford, A. E. Taylor, W. D. Ross, and to the French translation of Léon Robin in the Budé series. R. S. Bluck's recent version of the

Phaedo and the latest edition of Jowett appeared after Hackforth's script had gone to press. Burnet's Oxford text (1905) is followed, "except where noted," which proves to be over twenty-five instances.

Scholars will find the discussion in the introduction somewhat subjective. Hackforth, for example, dates the composition in 387 B.C., primarily because the silence regarding political institutions and government points to a date after Plato's return from Sicily and before he thought of founding the Academy (7). To bolster his position he claims that only the *Phaedo*, *Cratylus* and *Symposium* of the dialogues preceding the *Republic* present the Forms as existing apart from the particulars, and attempts to argue away the evidence in the *Euthyphro* and *Meno*, as is done by W. D. Ross (*Plato's Theory of Ideas* [1951] 21, 19) concerning evidence in the *Symposium* and *Cratylus*, thus concluding that the *Phaedo* is near in chronological order to the *Republic* (8-11).

According to Hackforth Plato had an extremely fertile period mentally immediately after his first visit to Sicily. Within a year after his return, still not realizing that the organization of a school would combine his political and philosophical interests, he composed the *Phaedo*, in which he presents ethics merely on an individualistic basis (7), views the soul as incomplete (11-12), is not able to discover the Final Cause in his cosmology (131), and is not ready to be specific on the number of Forms (142). Soon, however, Plato decided to found the Academy as a solution to his personal problem (7) and then wrote the *Republic*, in which he depicts ethics on a social basis, portrays the soul as tripartite (11-12), describes the Final Cause (132), and affirms that separate Forms exist for every group of things which have a common name (142).

The isagogy of the author differs greatly from that of A. E. Taylor (*Plato, the Man and his Work*, 1949), who holds that there is no serious variation in the teaching of Plato's dialogues through the *Republic* (146); that all the "Socratic" dialogues, including the *Republic*, were written before the opening of the Academy in 387 B.C.; and that Plato composed nothing, except possibly the *Phaedrus*, in the next twenty years because as head of the Academy he was too busy to write (21). Yet Taylor does admit that the *Menexenus* (245e), which he places among the "minor Socratic" dialogues, reviews Athenian history to the year 387 B.C., the Peace of Antalcidas (41).

The two previous paragraphs do not intend to be derogatory of the scholarship of

either Taylor or Hackforth, but rather exemplary of the subjectiveness involved in the current trend to fit Plato's compositions into some chronological scheme by finding development in Plato's thought on the basis of apparent discrepancies in the dialogues. It seems that an equally logical approach would be to give Plato the credit of being a composer of dramatic dialogues which might vary the details of a tenet according to the occasion for the discussion and according to the characters partaking in and present at the discourse, without expecting Plato to give a full account of each teaching every time it is mentioned. To be more specific, the absence of social and political references in the *Phaedo* might be explained by the circumstances of the dialogue: Socrates could hardly be expected in his last hours to go into the political and social ramifications of ethics; also, as Wilamowitz maintained, Plato might have considered it better not to overload the discussion by entering upon the details of a tripartite soul; and a similar explanation might be given to Plato's silence in the *Phaedo* on the Final Cause and on the number of Forms—after all, there is a limit to what can be packed into one dialogue.

In summarizing the arguments for the immortality of the soul in the *Phaedo* (16-19) and in the other dialogues (19-24) the author makes no attempt to explain the apparent discrepancies. The approach which we described above, however, could partially explain at least the omission in the *Phaedo* of the argument in the *Phaedrus* (245c-246a) and *Laws* (893b-896d) based on the self-movement of the soul; Plato, as a composer of dramatic dialogues whose tenets are intimately linked with the personalities of the auditors and participants, might have felt that an argument based on self-motion would be objectionable to several people present—Euclides and Terpsion, for example, who as Megarians would deny the reality of motion. Perhaps also *Phaedo* might have denied motion; the school he later founded, indeed, was similar to the Megarian and he is joined with Euclides according to Diogenes Laertius (2.107). Such an explanation appears at least as reasonable as any attempt (which Hackforth does not make) to view the argument from self-motion as a discovery of Plato subsequent to the composition of the *Phaedo*; for the argument is essentially older than even Socrates (cf. Aristotle, *de Anima* 405a30).

A good translation should strike the happy medium between stilted literalism and loose paraphrase—a goal of no mean attainment

and one which Professor Hackforth has accomplished in general, although some may feel that he touches the border of paraphrase on several occasions: "one foot in the grave" (*eggus ti teinein tou tethnanai*, 65a6); "that method has lost all attraction for me, and in its place I am gaily substituting a new sort of hotch-potch of my own" (*alla tin' allon tropon autos eikêi phurê, touton de oudamêi, prosiemai*, 97b6-7); "no . . . distaste" (*eukolôs*, 117c4); cf. also 89c9-10 and 91b1-2.

Scholars should be grateful for Hackforth's productive pen during his retirement and no doubt will wish him continued health to publish subsequent commentaries on and translations of Plato's dialogues.

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Discovering Buried Worlds. By ANDRÉ PARROT. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 128; 30 ill.; 5 maps. \$3.75.

ARCHAEOLOGY is a colorful and dramatic science. The particular excitement which strikes the excavator at the moment of discovery comes close to religious exaltation. He yearns to share his wonder, excitement and awe with others. The best way to achieve that purpose is to show the objects that have been found, something of the settings in which they were discovered, to give some explanations and all the pertinent data and then let the armchair archaeologist be impressed by the importance and beauty of the finds.

Unfortunately many archaeologists, and Mr. Parrot is no exception, when speaking to the general public go into detailed descriptions of the feelings they themselves experienced when the long sought statue or the rare vase came to light, and thus tell us much about the discoverer and little about the discovery. Some stress the sporting or hazardous character of archaeology and dwell on the climate and environment that had to be overcome to get the buried treasure. Mr. Parrot goes so far as to include among the few illustrations he offers one of the horned viper (plate 3) which could have bitten him had it not been killed in time. Instead of letting his finds speak for themselves, Mr. Parrot provides the necessary exclamation marks. There is nothing wrong with a sentence like "As for the female mask also found at Uruk, it reveals with its expression of aristocratic sadness a sensitivity and sureness of execution which make it one of the most remarkable pieces

not only of archaic sculpture, but of the sculpture of all time" (p. 72), except that there is no picture of the mask. Speaking of Sumerian sculpture Mr. Parrot says on page 71: "After the 'stele of the hunt' " (no picture), "in which hunters and beasts are treated in broad outline, comes the delicacy of the alabaster temple vase" (no picture either), "a marvel of light and line. The stratification of the remains has made it possible to determine the chronology of the events depicted." This chronology refers evidently to the sculptural development among the Sumerians. Mr. Parrot continues: "One can almost hear the tramp of the porters who come in procession to offer (p. 72) to the goddess Innin the finest fruits and vegetables and the choicest beasts from the herd." This is not only a *non sequitur*, it is also a case of gushing, and since there are no pictures of gushing in a vacuum.

The book is full of these elements designed to give warmth and color to a subject which in itself, if purely presented, is so full of warmth and color that any underlining, pointing out and lyrical description of attendant circumstances—such as of starry nights under the desert sky—is superfluous or unintentionally obfuscating. The worst of it is that in the moment one starts popularizing archaeology that way, one cannot but fall into the tritest and most obvious clichés, all of which we find here. One is the "you-can-see-it-now" cliché which we already cited, the other is the sentimental comparison of the old and new. "Close by the hill of Babil runs the railway linking Bagdad and Basra. A wooden board at the side of the line announces simply: 'Babylon Halt. Trains stop here to pick up passengers.' The traveller has arrived at Babylon, and his first impression of what was once the greatest capital of the ancient world is that placard. Not even a station—merely a 'halt'!" (p. 118). Closely related to the "you-can-see-it-now" cliché is the "they-were-like-us" cliché: "Rings made of shell or earthenware had long since fallen from the fingers they must once have adorned, while the grinder for making cosmetics tells of how humanity has from the beginning affected to improve on Nature" (p. 38). The face painting of primitive people has a vastly different meaning from what it has in present-day Paris. The spurious ascription of contemporary motives to past actions goes to such length, that Parrot writes in absolute seriousness: "It is hard to believe that those who lit the flame"

(in prehistoric Mesopotamia) "did not sometimes think of those who were to pick it up and pass it on in the future" (p. 36). We believe one can assert with a fair measure of confidence that the one thought pre-historic people did not have when they came upon an invention was a consideration of posterity. Parrot continues, "It is a far cry from the clay sickle to the atomic pile" (obviously, cliché No. 2). "One wonders if men were happier" (cliché No. 3), and so on.

Mr. Parrot speaks first about the technique of field archaeology in general, not slighting the heroic efforts and romantic experiences of archaeologists, then presents a history of Near Eastern archaeology with special emphasis on French efforts in this field, goes on with a short history of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and ends with a discussion of the theological and religious implications of Biblical archaeology. This is the first volume of a series of Studies in Biblical Archaeology; the author will deal later with Egypt in a special booklet.

There are a number of interesting pictures of the actual process of excavation, though the author does not mention any of the equally interesting and often vastly more important processes of restoration, let alone interpretation, dating, classification, etc. The choice of pictures is inept. If one has only space for 30 or so illustrations, one ought to offer as large a variety of pictures as possible. Here we find two pictures of temple statuettes from the Temple of Ishtar in Mari (plates 11 and 12) which duplicate each other both in the type of statuettes shown and in a number of actual statuettes, we find two pictures of the "Hypogeum of the patesis" in Tello (plates 16 and 17), where one would have been enough. We have three pictures to impress the reader with the unobtrusiveness and near invisibility of an excavation site (a tell), before the excavation started (plates 1, 2 and 4); one would have been more than enough. The picture of the horned viper is of course completely superfluous. Moreover, if illustrations are offered to the general public, one ought to avoid illustrations of objects which in their fragmentary character are a delight to the archaeologist, but a complete puzzle to the layman, as happens here with the highly fragmentary "Stele of Vultures" from Tello (plate 18), now in the Louvre. Granted that the author had photographs of that stele, granted also that as Professor at the Ecole du Louvre and Curator-in-Chief of the

French Museums he will feel a certain loyalty to French museums and objects discovered by French archaeologists, could there really not be found a better example of a Sumerian stele? What about the magnificent objects in the University Museum of Philadelphia? What about the wonderful illustrations in Woolley's books? There are no pictures of the Ras-Shamrah excavations, no pictures of Phoenician art, though the author talks at length about foreign influences on that art (pp. 93 ff.). No, these pictures are not well chosen, there are too few of them, these few overlap and duplicate each other to a large extent and often do not even give the most typical aspect of the art or civilization they are supposed to characterize, as in the case of the Hittite bas-relief of a stag-hunt (plate 32) from the Louvre. Better pictures could have easily been found, if the author had looked beyond his own store of photographs and the archives of the Louvre and the museums of Aleppo and Damascus. The maps are atrocious. They are like the maps a gifted teacher will draw on the blackboard during a lecture and indicate only shores, cities and rivers. No mountains!

The first edition of *Discovering Buried Worlds* appeared in 1952 under the title *Découverte des Mondes Ensevelis* and was exhausted the following year. The second edition appeared in 1954, from which the present translation was made. As a brief and very general introduction to near Eastern archaeology it has its merits, and it is best where it deals with the theological and philosophical implications of Biblical archaeology. The author mentions, but does not discuss, the Dead Sea Scrolls, except in a highly lyrical manner: "Doubtless it was just such a roll that was handed in the synagogue of Nazareth to Jesus, for Him to unroll and read (Luke 4:16-17). We are brought nearer to every gesture of Jesus of Nazareth, for on the back of the parchment can still be seen the marks left by the fingers of the readers" (p. 117); needless to say, for the time being this is nothing but ambiguous historical phantasy. Within the sentimental and to our mind false conventions of books popularizing archaeology, this book is well written and certainly brilliantly translated (by Edwin Hudson). That archaeology can be popularized on a vastly higher level without any sentimentalization is proven by the American periodical *ARCHAEOLOGY* and even by occasional features on archaeology that we find in such magazines as *TIME* and *LIFE* and their British counterparts.

Discovering Buried Worlds costs in England 7/6, approximately a dollar, which is more or less what the public ought to pay for it. The Philosophical Library for which this book was printed in Great Britain sells it in the United States for the price of \$3.75. This explains perhaps the interesting phenomenon of certain sales where such books are sold after a while at "greatly reduced prices" for, say, \$2.50, and if still not sold, for the "suicidal throw-away" of \$1.50, still bringing in a tidy profit.

JOHANNES A. GAERTNER

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Le Roman d'Alexandre: Légendaire médiéval. By ARMAND ABEL. (Collections Lebègue et Nationale, No. 112.) Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, S.A., 1955. Pp. 132.

MR. ABEL'S BRIEF but very informative account of the origins and medieval adaptations of the *Ralix* demonstrates at least two noteworthy phenomena: 1) the popularity of the story of Alexander the Great in widespread lands and literatures; 2) the fact that Alexander in his heroic role became, at the hands of the respective writers, "all things to all peoples" in terms of their respective traditions and contemporary interests. It is definitely to Mr. Abel's credit that he has attempted to present a continuous and closely knit synthesis of these diverse attitudes as they evolved in roughly chronological order. It is this reviewer's opinion that the author's success in this attempt constitutes his principal contribution and exceeds what one would expect from a brief treatment of such a vast subject.

The earliest extant version of the *Ralix* is referred to as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. For the Greeks—and the Barbarians—Alexander had become a symbolic personage, a kind of super-man, and from this concept resulted moral attributes which encouraged the interpolation of edifying apoloques.

Lack of space does not permit a synopsis of the content of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, nor of the later, more extensive compositions. Certain general divisions of the subject matter may be indicated which were generally followed by the numerous adaptations in the succeeding centuries: 1) Parentage of Alexander: his father was not Philip of Macedonia, but an Egyptian sage named Nectanebo; his mother was Olympias, wife of Philip. 2) Childhood of Alexander: superb education, principally by Aris-

total; the subjugation of Bucephalus. 3) Alexander's military exploits: preliminary successes in regions north and south of the Mediterranean; three defeats of Darius and marriage with his widow Roxane. 4) The fabulous creatures and supernatural phenomena encountered in unknown and mysterious lands; the prophecy by the talking trees of his approaching death. 5) Defeat of Porus, king of India; supplementary adventures; visits to the wise Brahmins, to the clever and exceedingly beautiful Queen Candace; submission of the Amazons. 6) Plot against Alexander, and his death by poison amid celestial omens.

In the C redaction of the Greek *RAlix*, the Greeks, Egyptians and the peoples of Syria are exalted at the expense of the contemporary Roman conquerors. In addition to these nationalistic elements, the Greek versions show the desire to emphasize marvelous and extraordinary adventures, just as the later medieval adaptations. Furthermore, the Jewish and later Christian communities at Alexandria made of Alexander the propagator and defender of the religion of the One God.

Of the three redactions of the Greek *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, A corresponds rather closely to Plutarch's account and served as a principal source for Julius Valerius' *Alexandri Polemi* (c. 330 A.D.) which, in turn, was known to later writers almost exclusively through an epitome. Another Latin adaptor was Quintus Curtius, author of *Res gestae Alexandri Magni*. His was primarily an "historical" composition and was an important source for medieval authors such as Gautier de Châtillon. In the tenth century, Leo the Archpriest wrote the *Historia de Proellius* which is not outstanding in literary qualities or interest and which contains many errors as to persons and places. Nevertheless, it completes the earlier Latin documentation upon which the later medieval writers of Western Europe were to base their versions of the *RAlix*.

The most important Arabic version, lost today, but which inspired an extant Ethiopian text, was derived from a Syriac version which in turn came indirectly from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* by means of an Iranian (Pahlavi) version. The Islamic treatment of Alexander developed along two lines: the religious based on the *Koran*, and the romanesque inspired by profane learning, the latter being much indebted to Greek sources.

In Iran, the thirteenth-century writer Nizami created a well organized and bal-

anced account in chronological order. Although inevitably he augments the importance of Iran at the expense of the Mediterranean and African elements, he gives us the first oriental treatment of the Alexander legend as an artistic and epic work relatively free from nationalism, and racial and religious claims.

Among the medieval writers in the vernaculars, it is at the hands of a lengthy series of French authors and redactors, beginning with Alberic de Pisançon (whom Mr. Abel calls "Alberic de Pisation") that the *RAlix* receives its most elaborate development which is a vast and complex subject in itself. It is with Alberic's account (of which only the first 105 lines are extant) that Alexander becomes essentially a western, medieval personage, noble and feudal. What may be called the "standard" medieval French *RAlix* was written in the twelfth century by Lambert le Tors and Alexandre de Bernay, the latter reworking and greatly expanding Lambert's version. The resultant poem of some 16,000 verses comprised four recognized "branches" or episodes: 1) the youth of Alexander; 2) the foraging of Gaza; 3) campaigns and adventures in India (the main part of the entire work and the earliest of the four "branches"); 4) the death of Alexander.

In addition to the adaptations of the primarily feudal *RAlix* in the other principal medieval literatures (German, Italian, Spanish), there arose the semi-erudite versions colored by a bourgeois spirit of curiosity and desire for learning. An example is the thirteenth-century *Roman de toute chevalerie* by Thomas de Kent which set the pattern for later similar efforts. In an unbroken development from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* down to the prose versions at the opening of the Renaissance, the Alexander legend had formed an encyclopedia of the most attractive learning and the best precepts.

In a work which attempts to encompass so much material within such a limited space, the author should not be taken to task for omissions, or compression of interesting topics. However, in the sections dealing with the Western European medieval vernacular versions, Mr. Abel could have avoided several errors of statement and could have improved his analysis if he had used several scholarly publications devoted to the *RAlix* that have appeared during the last twenty-five years (omitted from Mr. Abel's Bibliography, but all listed in Robert Bossuat's *Manuel Bibliographique*

de la littérature française du moyen âge, Melun, 1951). At least for these sections of his book, the general reader, as well as the specialist, must have recourse to Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886 (2 vols.) which is listed incorrectly by Abel in his "Notice Bibliographique".

We are indebted to Mr. Abel for a very interesting and succinct account of the evolution of the *RAIir*, but the specialists of the respective areas treated will still have to rely upon previous sources of information.

MILAN S. LA DU

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De Vergilii *Ecloga Sexta* Commentatio. By J. B. EVENHUIS. The Hague: Excelsior, 1955. Pp. 3, 66 (Groningen dissertation).

IN SPITE of their intrinsic beauty and charm Vergil's *Eclogues* appear to be studied more for their allusions to ancient historical and literary matters than for their own artistic merit. This is not brought about so much by poetic insensitivity as by a widespread conviction that the *Eclogues* cannot be understood without a key, and that this key is to be found in the events surrounding Vergil's life or in his literary heritage. The sixth *Eclogue* lends itself as well as any to this approach. The account of the songs of Silenus, which occupies the greater part of the *Eclogue*, contains the name of a contemporary poet (Gallus), and the supposition easily arises that Silenus' songs refer to actual Latin poems. Moreover, as there is no obvious pattern or unity in the list, identification of the poems alluded to comes to be regarded as prerequisite to any real understanding of the *Eclogue*.

Against such an approach to the poem Evenhuis makes a two-fold attack. He holds (1) that attempts (notably by Skutsch) to identify the elusive poems have not been successful, and (2) that the *Eclogue* may be satisfactorily analyzed in its own terms, without resort to a hidden key.

The former point is treated at far greater length than the latter. In his first chapter Evenhuis maintains against Skutsch and others that lines 74-77 of the *Eclogue* do not allude to the *Ciris*, but rather that the *Ciris* alludes to the *Eclogue*. He argues (pp. 5-6) that Vergil is one of the *magni poetae* who, according to *Ciris* 54 ff., gave an erroneous account of the Scylla story. The error, Evenhuis believes, lay in confusing (as Vergil does in the *Eclogue*) the

daughter of Nisus with the other Scylla who was changed into a monster. It follows, of course, that the *Ciris* was written after the *Eclogue* and by some poet other than Vergil.

(Those who are predisposed to accept the *Ciris* as one of Vergil's youthful works will not be overly impressed by Evenhuis' argument here. It is not entirely clear from the poem just what the error of the *magni poetae* was—in fact several errors seem to be mentioned; and line 62 may as easily mean that even Homer is not to be trusted as that Homer's version discredits those who differ from him. But if Homer cannot be believed, the identity of the *magni poetae* is no longer a problem. See further A. Rostagni, *Virgilio Minore*, pp. 209-217.)

In his second and third chapters Evenhuis continues his refutation of Skutsch. He examines in detail the brief passage on the myth of Tereus and Philomela (*Ecl.* 6.78-81), concluding that Skutsch misunderstood it and that Vergil freely altered traditional myths to suit his poetic fancy. Next he passes to a more general account of the poet Gallus, pointing out, among other things, that Gallus' poem on the Gynaean Grove, which Vergil announces in lines 64-73, may never actually have been written. The conclusion is that the sixth *Eclogue* is not based in whole or in part on Gallus' poems.

In the final chapter Evenhuis outlines, all too briefly, his own view of the *Eclogue*. Silvanus is a symbolic figure, not to be identified allegorically with Gallus (Skutsch), Parthenius (Herrmann), or any other specific person. The song on natural science is not Epicurean, but a product of Vergil's philosophical eclecticism. Gallus appears in the poem not as one of the commission in charge of assigning land to veterans, but simply as an outstanding poet. The selection of poetic themes is Vergil's own, inevitably calling to mind various works of the *novi poetae*, but achieving a distinctive unity by the very profusion in which the themes follow one another.

One cannot but approve Evenhuis' aim: to free the *Eclogue* from purely hypothetical contexts and to study it so far as possible as a self-contained work of art. The book as a whole is more critical than creative. Evenhuis draws heavily on the views of previous commentators, especially Leo and Helm, and is relatively unsuccessful in arriving at new insights into the meaning of the poem.

PHILLIP DE LACY

Washington University

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